

Sir Fulke Greville's
Life of Sir
Philip Sidney
etc.

First Published

1652

With an Introduction by
Nowell Smith

Late Fellow of New College



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INTRODUCTION

SIR PHILIP SIDNEY is so familiar and so attractive a name, and Fulke Greville, Lord Brooke, so little known outside the libraries of scholars, that the book which is here republished requires a word or two of introduction for the reader who is not already versed in the subject. It was first published in 1652, twenty-four years after its author's death; and the title, 'The Life of the renowned Sir Philip Sidney' (with other matters; see the title-page), was given to it presumably by the unknown P. B., the editor, certainly not by Greville himself. In a manuscript copy of the work, of which we shall hear more hereafter, the title is simply 'A Dedication'; and Greville's primary object was to dedicate his poems, 'these exercises of my youth,' as he calls them, 'to that Worthy Sir Philip Sidney, so long since departed.' The Dedication spreads out, in the unchannelled abundance of our earlier prose and the retired soliloquizing of Greville's older age, into a 'Treatise', in which the primary object is clean forgotten in the rush of the writer's memory of those two subjects
of

of so much greater importance, his friend, Sir Philip, and his mistress, Queen Elizabeth. The treatise is indeed our first authority for some of the well-known stories of Sidney, notably that of the cup of water at Zutphen, and that of the quarrel with the Earl of Oxford in the tennis court (Greville, however, does not give the earl's name); but it is at once much less and much more than a regular biography of Sidney. There are no dates, no details of personal appearance, place of abode, habits, friends and acquaintances; nothing of marriage; scarcely anything of life at court; nothing even of Sidney's literary pursuits, except an interesting criticism of the *Arcadia* solely from the point of view of the political philosopher.

Here, in fact, we have the matter in a nutshell. In all that he writes, except the love poems of the series named *Caelica*, Greville writes as a political philosopher and moralist. Even in *Caelica* the thinker dominates the lover, and often banishes the artist: the rest of the poems, including the plays, are, even avowedly (cp. *Life of Sidney*, chs. 14 and 18), political philosophy in verse. The bulk of them are called 'Treatises'—'a Treatise of Religion'; 'a Treatise of Humane Learning'; 'an Inquisition upon Fame and Honour'; 'a Treatise of Monarchy',

archy', which is divided into 'sections' with such titles as 'Of weak-minded Tyrants', 'Cautions against these weak extremities,' 'Of Lawes,' 'Of Commerce.' These treatises 'were first intended', Greville writes (*Sidney*, ch. 14), 'to be for every act [in the Tragedies] a chorus': but 'with humble sayles after I had once ventured upon this spreading *Ocean* of Images, my apprehensive youth [i.e. youth which naturally grasps at whatever it sees], for lack of a well touched compasse, did easily wander beyond proportion'. The tragedies themselves were political, especially the one which Greville destroyed, *Antonie and Cleopatra*, 'many members in that creature (by the opinion of those few eyes which saw it) having some childish wantonnesse in them, apt enough to be construed or strained to a personating of vices in the present Governors and government.' The object in all three of them was 'to trace out the high waies of ambitious Governours, and to shew in the practice, that the more audacity, advantage, and good successe such Sovereignities have, the more they hasten to their owne desolation and ruine' (ch. 18). Similarly very much the greater part of the *Life of Sidney* consists of reflections upon the political problems of Elizabeth's reign, upon Sidney's views on this subject, upon Elizabeth's

beth's methods of government. Greville, like Sidney and Drake and most of the 'stirring Spirits' (ch. 8) of that time, was strongly anti-Spanish and anti-Papal. His denunciations of Spanish ambition and Papal subservience are so persistent that only the abundance and the quaintness of his language save them from becoming monotonous. There can be little doubt that part of the scorn and displeasure, with which in his later years he alludes, in terms however general, to the degeneracy of the times, was due to his memory of the days of his early manhood, when the struggle with Spain worked together with the commercial enterprise, fostered by the discovery of the New World and the intellectual awakening of the Renaissance, to give a zest to political life, which was more and more lacking in the reign of James I, and even in the last years of Elizabeth herself. Not that Greville was ever, in all probability, a very light-hearted optimist or an adventurous man of action. One pictures him as usually throwing his influence on the side of prudence in his relations with his two more brilliant friends and kinsmen, Sidney¹ and, afterwards, the rash and unfortunate

¹ Cp. p. 74, where Greville relates how he inspired 'that ingenuous spirit of Sir Philip's' with suspicion of Drake's whole-heartedness in their projected enterprise.

² Essex.

Essex. His own career, too, was that of a man who was more apt to fill useful and more or less lucrative employments and to steer clear of the extremes of partisanship than to put his fortune to the touch in any daring scheme of ambition. He had his strong sympathies, and they were not with the Cecils¹; but he had no open breach with them, and he filled various posts while they still lived, though he evidently blossomed out again in his old age after the Earl of Salisbury's death in 1612. The following pages will show that he was genuinely devoted to Queen Elizabeth; and it is clear that she regarded him with favour as a courtier who could be trusted. He started his political career with offices in the principality of Wales, of which his friend's father, Sir Henry Sidney, was Lord President. He received various grants of land and emoluments, was knighted in 1597, and made Treasurer of Marine Causes in 1599-1600. Bacon records that 'Sir Fulke Grevill had much and private access to Queen Elizabeth, which he used honourably, and did many men good: yet he would say merrily of himself "That he was like Robin Goodfellow: for when the maids spilt the milk-pans or

¹ Cp. pp. 217 foll., and the story of the fall of Essex, pp. 156 foll.

kept any racket, they would lay it upon Robin: so what tales the ladies about the Queen told her, or other bad offices that they did, they would put it upon him''. Whatever they said about him, he was, as another writer tells us, 'a constant courtier of the ladies'; and the fact that he never married no doubt contributed to his having 'the longest lease and the smoothest time, without rub, of any of her [Elizabeth's] favourites'.¹ In the second year of James I he was granted Warwick Castle, then a ruin, which he made into the splendid pile which it still remains. Internal evidence and the probabilities of the case point to the time between the death of Henry IV of France² in 1610 and that of the Earl of Salisbury in 1612,³ as that in which the so-called *Life of Sidney* was composed. Soon after the later of these two dates Greville was made Under-Treasurer,

¹ Sir Robert Naunton, *Fragmenta Regalia* (1642), p. 30: quoted, with the passage from Bacon (Spedding, vii, p. 158), by Giosait, *Lord Brooke's Works*, vol. i, p. lxx.

² Cp. p. 31

³ From the manner in which Salisbury is spoken of on pp. 217-9, combined with the absence of any allusion to his death, I think it probable that he was still alive when the treatise was written. The fact that Greville's tragedy *Mustapha* was, perhaps piratically, published in 1609, may have some significance in connexion with the date of the *Dedication* of his poems to the memory of Sidney.

and then Chancellor of the Exchequer (1614), a Privy Councillor, and a Gentleman of the Bedchamber. In 1620 he was created Lord Brooke of Beauchamps-Court; and the Calendars of State Papers show that in spite of his advanced age—'Age and sickness, the gentlemen ushers of death,' as he writes with regard to himself in 1625¹—he was an active member of the House of Lords and of the administration. A long letter which he wrote to the Duke of Buckingham in 1623, reads like a piece of the *Life of Sidney*: the ambition and intrigues of Spain and the Papacy are denounced in the same picturesque language. Lord Brooke lived on into the reign of Charles I. On Sept. 1, 1628, he was stabbed in the back by a body-servant, Mr. Ralph Haywood, who was apparently enraged by being unmentioned in his master's will, and who 'to consummate the Tragedy, went into another roome, and having lock't the dore, pierced his own bowells with a sword'.² A contemporary lampoon gives the

¹ Grosart, vol. iv, p. 320.

² Dugdale's *Warwickshire*, pp. 571-3; much the same account of Greville is given by Dugdale in his *Baronage*, vol. ii, pp. 442-3. These passages form the main source of information about Greville's career. The facts are given more fully and with much comment of doubtful value in Dr. Grosart's Memorial-Introduction, *Lord Brooke's Works*, vol. 1.

dead Lord Brooke a bad character for avarice—a vice which was perhaps never more in vogue than in the days of the Tudors, when the confiscation of religious property and the exploitation of the New World whetted the thirst for gold. And Greville was conspicuously one of the new nobility, which built its fortunes, its Warwick castles and Beauchamps-Courts, out of the ruins of the mediaeval baronage and the mediaeval Church. But whatever were the rights of his difference with his servant, the antiquaries Camden and Speed, and the poet Daniel and others bear witness to his generosity as a patron of letters; and he endowed a chair of History at Cambridge, showing his Puritan tendencies¹ and causing much displeasure to Laud, by appointing the Dutch scholar, Isaac Dorislaus, to be the first professor. He died on Sept. 30, 1628, and was buried in a monument of black and white marble which he had erected in his lifetime, in the Collegiate Church of the Virgin at Warwick, with the inscription: 'Fulke Grevil, Servant to Queene Elizabeth, Councillor to King James, and Friend to Sr Philip Sydney. Trophæum Peccati.'

As an historical document the so-called

¹ Greville's strong sympathy with the Reformation is always coming out; for one decisive passage cp. below, pp. 216-7.

Life of Sidney is of considerable importance; and for that reason I have spent great pains on supplying, by means of accurate notes of a somewhat dry and forbidding appearance, the materials for arriving as closely as may be at the words which the author actually wrote. This ought to have been unnecessary, as the late Dr. Grosart professed and doubtless intended to do the same. Lovers of literature, who happen to have scholarly instincts and training, can never speak of enthusiastic antiquaries like Dr. Grosart without compunction. On the one hand they admire the generous expenditure of time and money which Dr. Grosart gave to his many 'labours of love'. On the other hand they can only look aghast on the mass of inaccurate statements and worthless judgements which swell the undigested bulk of his editions. The gratitude which they are anxious to feel as they enter into the fruits of his labour is thwarted by the double labour which they have to expend in correcting his mistakes and verifying the rest of his statements. I should have preferred to do the work of correction tacitly, but unfortunately Dr. Grosart had another failing, which is not however confined to the unscholarly amateur of letters. He had a mistaken confidence in his own merits, and an absurd way of expressing it by
belittling

belittling those of his predecessors. Thus he speaks of the only other reprint of the *Life of Sidney* besides his own, which was executed by Sir Egerton Brydges at his Lee Priory Press in 1816, as 'exceptionally slovenly and unworthy'. This is the very reverse of the truth.¹ Again, having the opportunity of being the first to publish the *Life* according to a MS copy of it existing in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge, he exalts that MS. to a pinnacle of excellence upon the strength of a collation not made by himself;² and pursues the text as hitherto printed with a ceaseless stream of 'P grossly misprints', 'P misreads.' He makes no attempt to weigh the comparative value of M (i.e. the MS. at Trinity College) and P (the printed text of 1652). He seems in a vague way to have regarded M as the source of P, which it certainly was not; but he does not even report the readings of the two texts correctly nor apparently pay the least regard to the sense as a guide to his choice between them where they are in conflict.³ The character of his critical

¹ I speak from an examination of the book; but I also notice with satisfaction that Mr. Sidney Lee in his account of Greville in the *Dict. Nat. Biog.* speaks of Sir Egerton Brydges' reprint being done 'with much care'.

² The collation was made by Mr. W. Aldis Wright. Grosart, vol. i, p. xii; vol. iv, p. vii.

³ Perhaps the most glaring of Grosart's editorial work

work will be sufficiently evident from the notes at the end of this volume. I have felt bound to be outspoken on the subject; but I have spoken with reluctance, and I should like to end by saying that, with all its faults, Grosart's edition of Lord Brooke's Works has the great merit of bringing together a body of writings both in prose and verse which well deserved to be revived for lovers of literature.

The textual criticism of the *Life of Sidney* is a problem, or rather part of a problem,¹ which I have not had time or opportunity thoroughly to attempt to solve. By the hospitality of Dr. Henry Jackson and the kind permission of the authorities of Trinity College I was able to make a collation of M at Cambridge; and I have quoted its readings wherever they seemed to be of the least importance, whether as improving the text or as throwing light upon the divergence between M and P. The differences of reading are very numerous, and vary from minute details to serious discrepancies. The most

faults, if we consider the slavish way in which he follows M in impossible readings, is his omission to record superior readings of his idol; cp. notes on p. 10, l. 9; p. 18, l. 4 from bot; p. 78, l. 4; p. 83, par. 2, l. 4 from bot.; p. 87, par. 2, l. 1; p. 95, par. 2, l. 9, &c.

¹ MSS. of nearly all Greville's writings exist at Warwick Castle, and were collated by Grosart.

interesting

interesting places are naturally those where M contains matter which is absent from P.¹ One of these² is especially interesting because it contains a sort of palinode to a somewhat unfavourable account of Sir Francis Drake, and from the words with which it is introduced ('Yet to deale trulie with the dead') would, if there were not abundant evidence to the contrary, tempt one to suppose that the bulk of the *Life* was written before Drake's death in Jan. 1595/6. Only one degree less interesting are the passages omitted by M, but contained in P,³ since these prove that the omissions of P, just spoken of, are not due to a negligent copying of M or its archetype. Thirdly, among the mass of differences which have only an importance as textual evidence, there are a few curious *variae lectiones*,⁴ which seem, together with the omissions and insertions, to prove that M and P represent two different recensions of the text made, in all probability,⁵

¹ See notes on p. 77, end of par. 2; p. 89, ditto; p. 132, ll. 11-13.

² p. 77.

³ See notes on p. 53, l. 12; p. 84, par. 3, l. 7; p. 91, l. 6; p. 97, l. 4 from bot.

⁴ See especially notes on p. 106, l. 3 from bot.; p. 108, l. 8; p. 115, l. 5.

⁵ Any other supposition is, in the first place, fantastic. In the second place, there exist at Warwick Castle,
by

by the author himself. Both M and P have a good many mistakes which arise from the inattention of the scribe or the compositor, and others due to inability to decipher their originals. Considering the practice of amateurs of literature in those days to circulate their compositions among their friends without having them printed, there is nothing surprising in the fact that M and P must be derived from different versions: and I cannot at present, even if it is not now an insoluble question, determine which version has the better claim to represent the author's *summa manus*.

Nor is the problem one of greater importance than textual problems are apt to be. Any scientific investigation is fascinating to the investigator; and any increase in the accurate knowledge of an author's text is not without its value. But this treatise of Greville's is not one of the rare books in which the restoration of a desperate text is the indispensable preliminary to an intelligent reading of the work. I have attempted, if I may combine metaphors somewhat after Greville's own manner, to kill two birds with

MSS. of Greville's other works, partly in his own handwriting, partly in a scribe's, but with corrections in Greville's, and all of them containing many readings different from the printed texts.

one stone in this edition; but I do not wish to fall between two stools. Though I hope I have done something for the student who may wish to use Greville's treatise as an historical document, my chief desire is that lovers of literature may share the pleasure which it gives me to wander in the 'careless-ordered garden' of this old Elizabethan moralist, to be stirred by his meditative eloquence, to fill the ear with his noble rhythms, to please the fancy with his luxuriant images and metaphors, and to find a zest even in tracking his meaning through his devious syntax. For Greville in his prose, as in his verse, is an obscure writer, even for the days before Hobbes and Dryden. The general trend of his argument is clear enough, and the colours of his 'map' of European politics (to use a favourite word of his) have the freshness of the first-hand observer, even though the lines are sometimes drawn with the wavering hand of memory. But in detail he is often very difficult. Now and again this is due to some defect in the transmission of the text. More often the cause is the punctuation, which follows no consistent system and yet is, as a rule, the result of deliberate intention. But the vagaries of Greville's punctuation are really part of the irregular character of his style; and his style means

means his thought, for, though he loves quaint metaphors and similes, he is no mere verbal acrobat, nor is his bewildering syntax a work of affectation.¹ He luxuriates in words, phrases, metaphors, allusions, like all the Elizabethans²; one picturesque expression trips over another; an epithet suggests a new turn of thought, and the sentence cannot keep up with the sudden shifting of the course. At the same time he usually retains in his own mind the thread of his argument, and comes back to it, in spite of intervening stops and subjects, with an unconscious abrupt-

¹ Motley several times speaks of Gieville as a 'euphuist', but this much-abused term is not in any important degree applicable to Gieville.

² Every one knows that the language of the Elizabethans is so charged with metaphors; but nowhere, except perhaps in Bacon's Essays, are the metaphors and similes more abundant than in Gieville. Many of his images are very vivid. They occur on every page, but a few of the more striking are p. 66, l. 7; p. 74, l. 3 from bot.; p. 86, l. 5; p. 94, l. 3; p. 108, l. 5 from bot.; p. 167, l. 5 and 5 from bot.; p. 179, l. 7 from bot.; p. 212, l. 6 from bot.; p. 224, l. 7. Some of the words of which Gieville is especially fond are 'selfnesse', 'wind-blown', 'to wave', 'lack', 'map', 'noun-adjective-natured', 'undertake', and others to which attention is called in the notes on the text. He is also fond of such phrases as 'contented and contenting' (p. 197), 'successive and successful' (p. 209), 'the blessed and blessing presence of this unmatched Queen and woman' (p. 215).

ness which bewilders the reader unless he holds on to the thread very fast. The same characteristics mark Greville's poetry. It is full of good things—strong phrases, pointed apophthegms, quaint and suggestive metaphors and allusions; but even more than in the prose, certainly with a more deterrent effect upon the reader who expects to find a poem in the first place a work of art, grammar and proportion are constantly forgotten. But although one cannot help seeing in Greville, as in other minds which, though acute and even deep, are yet not of the first order of power, that want of perfect control which soon produces the exaggeration, the paradox, the verbal juggling and fantastic imagery of a decadent style like that of the 'metaphysical' poets, in Greville himself neither failings nor virtues are the stereotyped characteristics of a 'school' or a 'style'. His first interest is in the thoughts which he wants to express; and it is for this reason that his expression, however faulty, has the charm of sincerity, and gives one an idea of originality of mind. The impression is deepened by a somewhat sardonic humour which plays with similarities of sound or contrasts of sense, a sort of punning without elaboration or finish, but suggestive sometimes of contempt, sometimes of a certain restrained passion. Finally, and
for

for the second time, in spite of, and often in the midst of, his oracular obscurity, Greville is often touched by moral and intellectual passion to a fine nobility of utterance, and in these passages he haunts the ear with that solemn and rich and varied rhythm which is the peculiar glory of Elizabethan and Jacobean prose. I know few chapters in any book of a more sustained meditative eloquence than the third of this treatise, and few passages of finer rhythm than the last paragraph of that chapter.

NOWELL SMITH.

WINCHESTER, 1906.

NOTE

I desire to thank the friends with whom I have discussed difficulties of interpretation, especially Mr H. J. Hardy, Professor Walter Raleigh, and Mr. H. A. L. Fisher; also the readers of the Clarendon Press for their admirable, though far from unusual, care in correcting my proofs.

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THE LIFE
Of the Renowned
S^r *PHILIP SIDNEY*.

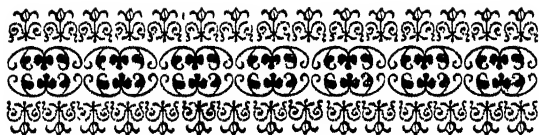
WITH
The true Interest of *England*
as it then stood in relation to all For-
rain Princes : And particularly for sup-
pressing the power of *Spain* Stated by Him.

His principall Actions, Counsels,
Designes, and Death.

Together with a short Account of
the Maximes and Policies used by Queen
Elizabeth in her Government.

Written by Sir FULKE GREVIL
Knight, Lord Brook, a Servant to Queen
Elizabeth, and his Companion
& Friend.

LONDON,
Printed for *Henry Seile* over against St
Dunstons Church in Fleet-street.
M D C L I I



Most humbly,
To the Right Honorable
THE
COUNTESS
OF
SUNDERLAND.

Since Madam,

*Both your Bloud, and Vertues
do so strongly Intitle you to
this well-limb'd Piece; it would
be a stain upon the Publisher, to
enshrine it to any other Name but
yours. Who can protect the story*
a 2 of

The Epistle

*of a Sidney, but a Sidney's Name?
Thus his Matchless Poem, seem'd
providentially by him impatron-
ag'd unto his Peerless Sister. And
this (Madam) being another of
his meaner Monuments, disdains
Address to any other Alliance
but his own. Here at your feet
(by no despicable Pen) the His-
tory of our Nations Wonder lies;
Whose large spread Fame, your
noble Meene improves, and con-
vinces the World of this Truth,
That not only the Endowments
of Nature, but even the Enoble-
ments of the Mind, and Genius,
are many times inherent in
the Bloud and Linage. Some
Families are privileg'd from
Heaven*

Dedicatory.

Heaven in Excellencies, which now and then in particular Branches, like new Stars, appear and beautifie the sphere they shine in. And doubtless if the departed into Happiness, have any knowledge of our humane Vicissitudes, his gallant Soul looks down with Contentment, to see the Honour of his House continued in your unblemisht Merit. Which, taking all, may excuse the presumption that I can be charged with, who not pretending to the Authorage, have thought I could not doe more right, either to him, or the subject of the discourse, than to inscribe it to Her, who like day
in

The Epistle

*in this Ecclipse of Honour,
enlightning our Western Orb,
hath ambition'd me to make this
offering from,*

Madam,

The meanest of your
most obedient Servants,

P.B.



THE
Life of the Renowned
Sr *PHILIP SIDNEY*

CHAP. I.

THe difference which I have found between times, and consequently the changes of life into which their naturall vicissitudes doe violently carry men, as they have made deep furrowes of impressions into my heart, so the same heavy wheelles cause me to retire my thoughts from free traffique with the world, and rather seek comfortable ease or imployment in the safe memory of dead men, than disquiet in a doubtfull conversation amongst the living. Which I ingenuously confesse, to be one chief motive of dedicating these exercises of my youth to that Worthy Sir *Philip Sidney*, so long since departed.

departed. For had I grounded my ends upon active Wisedomes of the present, or sought Patronage out of hope, or fear in the future; Who knowes not, that there are some Noble friends of mine, and many Honourable Magistrates yet living, unto whom both my Fortune, and Reputation were, and are far more subject^d But besides this self-respect of Dedication, the debt I acknowledge to that Gentleman is farre greater, as with whom I shall ever account it honour to have been brought up: and in whom the life it self of true worth, did (by way of example) far exceed the pictures of it in any moral Precepts. So that (if my creation had been equal) it would have proved as easie for me, to have followed his patern, in the practice of reall vertue, as to engage my self into this *Characteristickall* kind of Poetrie: in defence whereof he hath written so much, as I shall not need to say any thing. For that this representing of vertues, vices, humours, counsells, and actions of men in feigned, and unscandalous Images, is an inabling of free-born

born spirits to the greatestt affaires of States: he himself hath left such an instance in the too short scene of his life, as I fear many Ages will not draw a line out of any other mans sphere to parallel with it.

For my own part, I observed, honoured, and loved him so much; as with what caution soever I have passed through my dayes hitherto among the living, yet in him I challenge a kind of freedome even among the dead. So that although with *Socrates*, I professe to know nothing for the present; yet with *Nestor* I am delighted in repeating old newes of the ages past; and will therefore stir up my drooping memory touching this mans worth, powers, wayes, and designes: to the end that in the tribute I owe him, our nation may see a Sea-mark, rais'd upon their native coast, above the levell of any private Pharos abroad: and so by a right Meridian line of their own, learn to sayl through the straits of true vertue, into a calm, and spacious Ocean of humane honour.

It is ordinary among men to observe the races of horses, and breeds of other cattle. But few consider, that as divers humors mixt in mens bodies make different complexions; so every Family hath, as it were, divers predominant qualities in it: which, as they are tempered together in Marriage, give a certain tincture to all the descent. In my time, I have observed it in many houses, especially in this. Sir *Henry Sidney* his Father was a man of excellent naturall wit, large heart, sweet conversation: and such a Governour, as sought not to make an end of the State in himself, but to plant his own ends in the prosperity of his Countrey. Witnes his found establishments both in *Wales*, and *Ireland*, where his Memory is worthily grateful unto this day: how unequall, & bitter soever the censure of Provincials is usually, against sincere Monarchall Governours, especially such, as though in worth and place superior, are yet in their own degrees of heraldry, inferior to them.

On the other side, his Mother, as she
was

was a woman by descent of great Nobility, so was she by nature of a large ingenuous spirit. Whence, as it were even racked with native strengths, she chose rather to hide her self from the curious eyes of a delicate time, than come up on the stage of the world with any manner of disparagement, the mischance of sicknesse having cast such a kind of veile over her excellent beauty, as the modesty of that sex doth many times upon their native, and heroicall spirits.

So that it may probably be gathered, that this clearnesse of his Fathers judgement, and ingenious sensiblenesse of his Mothers, brought forth so happy a temper in this well-mixt Offspring of theirs, as (without envy be it spoken) Sir *Philip* deserves to be accompted amongst those eminent Plants of our soyl, which blast, or bite not, but rather statuminate, and refresh the Vines, Corn, Fruits, or whatsoever groweth under their shaddows. And as he was their First-born, so was he not the contraction, but the extension of their strength,
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and the very acme, and perfect type of it.

Of whose Youth I will report no other wonder, but this; That though I lived with him, and knew him from a child, yet I never knew him other than a man: with such staiednesse of mind, lovely, and familiar gravity, as carried grace, and reverence above greater years. His talk ever of knowledge, and his very play tending to enrich his mind: So as even his teachers found something in him to observe, and learn, above that which they had usually read, or taught. Which eminence, by nature, and industry, made his worthy Father stile Sir *Philip* in my hearing (though I unseen) *Lumen familie sue*. But why doe I mention this relative harmony of worth between Father and Son? Did not his Country soon after take knowledge of him as a Light, or leading Star to every degree within her? Are not the Arts and Languages, which enabled him to Travail at fourteen years old, and in his Travail to win reverence amongst the chief Learned men

men abroad, Witneſſes beyond exception, that there was great inequality of worth and goodneſſe in him?

Instance that reverend *Languet*, mentioned for honours sake in *Sir Philip's Arcadia*, learned *usque ad miraculum*; wise by the conjunction of practice in the world, with that well-grounded Theory of Books, & much valued at home; till this great Worth (even in a Gentlemans fortune) being discovered for a dangerous instrument against *Rome* and *Spain*, by some sparkles got light enough, rather to seek employment elsewhere, than to tarry, and be driven out of his own Country with disparagement. In *Franckford* he settles, is entertained Agent for the Duke of *Saxony*, and an under-hand Minister for his own King. Lodged he was in *Wechels* house, the Printer of *Franckford*, where *Sir Philip* in travail chancing likewise to become a guest, this ingenious old mans fulneſſe of knowledge, travailing as much to be delivered from abundance by teaching, as *Sir Philip's* rich nature, and industry thirsted to be taught, and manured;
this

this harmony of an humble Hearer to an excellent Teacher, so equally fitted them both, as out of a naturall descent both in love, and plenty, the elder grew taken with a net of his own thread, and the younger taught to lift up himself by a thread of the same spinning; so as this reverend *Languet*, orderly sequestred from his severall Functions under a mighty King, and *Saxonic* the greatest Prince of *Germany*, became a Nurse of knowledge to this hopefull young Gentleman, and without any other hire, or motive than this sympathy of affections, accompanied him in the whole course of his three years travail. By which example the judicious Reader may see, that Worth in every Nation finds her Country, Parents, Neighbours, and Friends, yea, and often, with more honour, dearness, and advancement in knowledges, than any pedigree of fleshly kindred, will, or can at home raise, or enlarge them unto. Nay to goe yet farther in this private instance; It may please the Reader to observe, how the same
parallel

parallel of worth, in what age, or estate soever, as it hath power to win, so hath it likewise absolute power to keep. Far unlike those creations of chance, which hatch other birds egges; and by advancing men out of chance or complement, lose them again as fast by neglect. Contrary to which, even when diversity of years, courses of life, and fortunes, enforced these dear Friends to divide, there yet passed such a continuall course of intelligence by Letters from one of them to another, as in their loss (if they be lost) there be buried many delicate images, and differences, between the reall, and large complexions of those active times, and the narrow *salves* of this effeminate age: Because in this excellent mould of their friendship, the greatest businesses of Estate were so mixed with the sweet remissions of ingenuous good will, as men might easily discern in them (as unflattering glasses) that wisdom, and love, in good spirits have great affinity together. For a farther demonstration, behold even the same *Languet* (after he

was

was fixty six years of age) fashioning himself a journey into *England*, with the Duke *Casimire*, onely to see that excellent Plant of his own polishing. In which loving, and unexpected meeting, I dare confidently affirm, neither side became loser. At the sea they parted, and made many mutuall tears ominous propheciers of their never meeting again.

These little sparks of two large natures I make bold the longer to insist upon, because the youth, life and fortune of this Gentleman were indeed but sparkes of extraordinary greatnesse in him: which for want of clear vent lay concealed, and in a maner smothered up. And again to bring the children of favor, and chance, into an equall ballance of comparifon with birth, worth, and education: and therein abruptly to conclude, that God creates those in his certain, and eternall mouldes, out of which he elects for himself; where Kings choose creatures out of *Pandoras* Tun, and so raise up worth, and no worth; friends or enemies at adventure.

Therefore

Therefore what marvail can it be, if these *Iacobs*, and *Esaus* strive ambitiously one with another, as well before as after they come out of such erring, and unperfect wombes?

Now from these particular testimonies to goe on with Sir *Philips* life: though he purposed no monuments of books to the world, out of his great harvest of knowledge; yet doe not his Arcadian Romanties live after him, admired by our soure-eyd Criticks? who, howsoever their common end upon common arts be to affect reputation by depraving censure; yet where nature placeth excellencie above envy, there (it seemeth) she subjecteth these carping eyes to wonder, and shewes the judicious reader, how he may be nourished in the delicacy of his own judgement.

For instance; may not the most refined spirits, in the scope of these dead images (even as they are now) finde, that when Sovereign Princes, to play with their own visions, will put off publique action, which is the splendor of Majestie, and unactively charge the managing of
their

their greatest affaires upon the second-hand faith, and diligence of Deputies, may they not (I say) understand, that even then they bury themselves, and their Estates in a cloud of contempt, and under it both encourage, and shadow the conspiracies of ambitious subalternes to their false endes, I mean the ruine of States and Princes?

Again, where Kingly Parents will suffer, or rather force their wives and daughters, to descend from the inequality and reservedness of Princely education, into the contemptible familiarity, and popular freedome of Shepherds; may we not discern that even therein they give those Royall birthes warrant, or opportunity, to break over all circles of honor, safe-guards to the modesty of that sex; and withall make them frailly apt to change the commanding manners of Princely Birth, into the degrading images of servile baseness? Lastly, where humor takes away this pomp, and *apparatus* from King, Crown, and Scepter, to make fear a Counsellor, and obscurity a wisdom; be that King
at

at home what the current, or credit of his former Government, for a while, may keep him: yet he is sure among forrain Princes to be justly censured as a Princely Shepherd, or Shepherdish King: which creatures of scorn seldom fail to become fit sacrifices for home-born discontentments, or ambitious forrain spirits to undertake, and offer up.

Againe, who sees not the chanceable arrivall of *Euarchus* into *Arcadia*; his unexpected election to the temporary Sovereignty of that State; his sitting in a cloudy seat of judgement, to give sentence (under a mask of Shepherds) against his Son, Nephew, Nieces, the immediate successors to that Scepter; and all accused and condemned of rape, paricide, adulteries, or treasons, by their own Lawes: I say who sees not, that these dark webs of effeminate Princes be dangerous forerunners of innovation, even in a quiet, and equally tempered people? So that if Sir *Philip* had not made the integrity of this forrain King an image of more constant, pure, and higher strain, than nature makes those ordinary mouldes,

mouldes, wherein she fashioneth earthly Princes, even this opportunity, and map of desolation prepared for *Euarchus*, wherein he saw all the successors of this Province justly condemned under his own sentence, would have raised up specious rights, or pretences for new ambition in him; and upon the never-failing pillars of occasion, amasednes of people, and sad offer of glorious novelties, have tempted him to establish this Election for a time, successively, to him and his for ever?

To be short, the like, and finer moralities offer themselves throughout that various, and dainty work of his, for sounder judgements to exercise their Spirits in; so that if the infancie of these *Ideas*, determining in the first generation, yield the ingenuous Reader such pleasant & profitable diversity, both of flowers, and fruits, let him conceive, if this excellent Image-maker had liv'd to finish, and bring to perfection this extraordinary frame of his own Common-wealth: I meane, the return of *Basilus*, from his dreames of humor, to
the

the honor of his former Estate; the marriage of the two sisters with the two excellent Princes; their issue; the warres stirred up by *Amphialus*; his marriage with *Helena*; their successions; together with the incident Magnificences, pompes of state, providences of counsellors in treaties of peace, or alliance, summons of warres, and orderly execution of their disorders; I say, what a large field an active able spirit should have had to walk in, let the advised Reader conceive with grief. Especially if he please to take knowledge, that in all these creatures of his making, his intent, and scope was, to turn the barren Philosophy precepts into pregnant Images of life; and in them, first on the Monarch's part, lively to represent the growth, state, and declination of Princes, change of Government, and lawes: vicissitudes of sedition, faction, succession, confederacies, plantations, with all other errors, or alterations in publique affaires. Then again in the subjects case; the state of favor, disfavor, prosperitie, adversity, emulation, quarrell, undertaking, retiring, hospitality,

lity, travail, and all other moodes of private fortunes, or misfortunes. In which traverſes (I know) his purpoſe was to limn out ſuch exact pictures, of every poſture in the minde, that any man being forced, in the ſtraines of this life, to paſs through any ſtraights, or latitudes of good, or ill fortune, might (as in a glaſſe) ſee how to ſet a good countenance upon all the diſcountenances of adverſitie, and a ſtay upon the exorbitant ſmilings of chance.

Now, as I know this was the firſt project of theſe workes, rich (like his youth) in the freedome of affections, wit, learning, ſtile, form, and facilitie, to pleaſe others: ſo muſt I again (as ingenuouſly) confeſs, that when his body declined, and his piercing inward powers were lifted up to a purer Horizon, he then diſcovered, not onely the imperfection, but vanitie of theſe ſhadowes, how daintily ſoever limned: as ſeeing that even beauty it ſelf, in all earthly complexions, was more apt to allure men to evill, than to faſhion any goodneſs in them. And from this ground, in that
memorable

memorable testament of his, he bequeathed no other legacie, but the fire, to this unpolished Embrio. From which fate it is onely reserved, untill the world hath purged away all her more gross corruptions.

Again, they that knew him well, will truly confess, this *Arcadia* of his to be, both in form, and matter, as much inferior to that unbounded spirit of his, as the industry and Images of other mens works, are many times raised above the writers capacities: and besides acknowledge, that howsoever he could not choose but give them many aspersions of spirit, and learning from the Father; yet that they were scribed rather as pamphlets, for entertainment of time, and friends, than any accompt of himself to the world. Because if his purpose had been to leave his memory in books, I am confident, in the right use of Logick, Philosophy, History, and Poesie, nay even in the most ingenuous of Mechanicall Arts, he would have shewed such traits of a searching, and judicious spirit; as the professors of

SIDNEY C every

every faculty would have striven no less for him, than the seven Cities did to have *Homer* of their Sept. But the truth is: his end was not writing, even while he wrote; nor his knowledge moulded for tables, or schooles; but both his wit, and understanding bent upon his heart, to make himself and others, not in words or opinion, but in life, and action, good and great.

In which Architectonical art he was such a Master, with so commending, and yet equall waies amongst men, that whersoever he went, he was beloved, and obeyed: yea into what Action soever he came last at the first, he became first at the last: the whole managing of the business, not by usurpation, or violence, but (as it were) by right, and acknowledgment, falling into his hands, as into a naturall Center.

By which onely commendable monopolie of alluring, and improving men, looke how the sunn drawes all windes after it in fair weather: so did the influence of this spirit draw mens affections and undertakings to depend upon him.

CHAP.



CHAP. II.

HEre I am still enforced to bring pregnant evidence from the dead: amongst whom I have found far more liberall contribution to the honor of true worth, than among those which now live; and in the market of selfnesse, traffique new interest by the discredit of old friends: that ancient wisdom of righting enemies, being utterly worn out of date in our modern discipline.

My first instance must come from that worthy Prince of *Orange*, *William* of *Nassau*, with whom this young Gentleman having long kept intelligence by word, and letters, and in affairs of the highest nature that then passed currant upon the stages of *England*, *France*, *Germany*, *Italy*, the low Countries, or *Spaine*, it seemes that this young Gentleman had, by his mutuall freedom, so imprinted the extraordinary merit of his young yeares into the large

wisdom, and experience of that excellent Prince, as I passing out of *Germany* into *England*, and having the unexpected honor to finde this Prince in the Town *Delph*, cannot think it unwelcome to describe the clothes of this Prince; his posture of body, and minde, familiarity, and reservedness, to the ingenuous Reader, that he may see with what diverse Characters Princes please, and Govern Cities, Townes, and Peoples.

His uppermost garment was a gown, yet such as (I dare confidently affirm) a mean-born student, in our Innes of Court, would not have been well-pleased to walk the streets in. Unbuttoned his doublet was, and of like precious matter, and form to the other. His waist-coat (which shewed itself under it) not unlike the best sort of those wollen knit ones, which our ordinary watermen row us in. His Company about him, the Burgessees of that beer-brewing Town: and he so fellow-like encompassed with them, as (had I not known his face) no exterior signe of degree, or reservedness could have discovered the inequality of his
his

his worth or Estate from that multitude. Notwithstanding I no sooner came to his presence, but it pleased him to take knowledge of me. And even upon that (as if it had been a signall to make a change) his respect of a stranger instantly begat respect to himself in all about him. An outward passage of inward greatness, which in a popular Estate I thought worth the observing. Because there, no pedigree but worth could possibly make a man Prince and no Prince, in a moment, at his own pleasure.

The businesse which he then vouchsafed to impart with me were, the dangerous fate which the Crown of *England*, States of *Germany*, and the Low Countries did stand threatned with, under an ambitious, and conquering Monarch's hand. The main instance, a short description of the Spaniards curious affecting to keep the Romans waies, and ends, in all his actions. On the other side, the clear symptomes of the Hectique feaver, universally then reigning among the Princes of Christendome, ordain'd (as he thought) to behold
this

this undermining disease without fear, till it should prove dangerous, nay incurable to them. This active King of *Spain* having put on a mask of conscience, to cover an invisible conjunction between the temporal, and spiritual ambitions, of these two sometimes creeping, sometimes commanding Romish and Spanish Conquerors. The particulars were many, both excellent and enlightning.

As first, the fatall neutrality of *France*, jealous of the Spanish greatness, as already both wrong'd, and threatned by it: and yet their Kings so full of pleasures, and consequently so easily satisfied with the complements of words, treaties, or alliances, and since the fall of the *Sorbonists*, their own exempted Church so absolutely possesst, and govern'd by the Jesuits; as through the bewitching liberties, and bondages of Auricular confession, they were rather wrought to rest upon a vain security of reputed strength, than really to hazzard loss, and help themselves by diversion, or assailing.

Againe, on the Queens part, by the way of question, he supposed a little neglect in her Princely mildness, while she did suffer a Protestant party, rais'd by God in that great Kingdome of *France*, to be a ballance or counterpease to that dangerous *Heptarchy of Spain* (then scarce visible, but since multiplied to an unresistable greatness) I say, for suffering this strong and faithfull party (through want of employment) to sink into it self, and so unactively (like a Meteor) to vanish, or smother out, in vain and idle apparitions. Withall reverently hee demurr'd, whether it were an omission in that excellent Ladies Government, or no, by a remisse looking on, whilst the *Austrian* aspiring family framed occasion to gain by begging peace, or buying war from the Grand Signior; and both exceeding much to their own ends; In respect that once in few years, this Emperor made himself Generall by it, over all the forces of Christendome; and thereby gained the fame of action; trained up his owne Instruments Martiallly,

tially, and got credit with his fellow-bordering Princes, through the common Councill, or participation of fear. Besides that in the conclusions of peace, he ever saved a mass of riches gather'd by Diets, Contributions, Devotions, and Levies for common defence, which out of the ill-accompting hand of war, became (in his Exchequer) Treasure, to terrifie even those Christian neighbours that did contribute to it. And the more especially he insisted upon this: because all those crafty Pageants of her enemies were disguisedly acted, even whilst her Majesty had an Agent of extraordinary diligence, worth, and credit with that vast Estate of Turkic, into whose absolute and imperious spirit, without any further charge than infusing the jealousies of competition, these practises among those Austrian usurpers, might easily have been interrupted.

Lastly, it pleased him to question yet a greater over-sight in both these Kingdoms, *England*, and *France*: Because while their Princes stood at gaze, as
upon

upon things far off, they still gave way for the Popish, and Spanish invifible Arts, and Counfels, to undermine the greatnefs, and freedom both of Secular and Ecclefiasticall Princes: a mortall ficknefs in that vaft body of *Germany*, and by their infenfible fall, a raifing up of the houfe of *Austria* many fteps towards her long affected Monarchy over the Weft. The ground of which opinion was (as he thought) in refpect that even the Catholique Princes, and Bifhops themfelves (had their eyes bin well wakened) would never have endured any cloud, or colour of Religion, to have changed their Princely Sovereignties into fuch a kind of low, and Chaplaine tenure, as fince they have fleepily fallen into: but would rather have ftirred them with many hands, to binde this Miter-fuperftition, with the reall cords of truth. And to that end perchance have fet *Spain* on work with her new, and ill digefted Conquefts: her dangerous enemy *Fefs*: her native *Moors*, and *Iems* (fince craftily tranfported) and fo probably have troubled
the

the usurpations both of the *Pope*, and *Spain*, over that well-tempered, though over-zealous, and superstitious Region of *Italy*. These, and such other particulars, as I had in charge, and did faithfully deliver from him to her Majesty, are since performed, or perished with time, or occasion.

The last branch was his free expressing of himselfe in the honour of Sir *Philipp Sidney*, after this manner: That I would first commend his own humble service, with those fore-mentioned Ideas to the Queen; and after crave leave of her freely to open his knowledge, and opinion of a Fellow-servant of his, that (as he heard) lived unimployed under her. With himselfe he began *ab ovo*, as having been of *Charles* the fifth's Privie Counsell, before he was one and twenty years of age: and since (as the world knew) either an Actor, or at least acquainted with the greatest actions, and affairs of *Europe*; and likewise with her greatest men, and ministers of Estate. In all which series of time, multitude of things, and persons, he protested

protested unto mee (and for her service) that if he could judge, her Majesty had one of the ripest, and greatest Counsellors of Estate in Sir *Philip Sidney*, that at this day lived in *Europe*: to the triall of which hee was pleased to leave his owne credit engaged, untill her Majesty might please to employ this Gentleman, either amongst her friends or enemies.

At my return into *England*, I performed all his other cōmandments; this that concerned Sir *Philip* (thinking to make the fine-spun threads of Friendship more firm between them) I acquainted Sir *Philip* with: not as questioning, but fully resolved to doe it. Unto which he at the first sight opposing, discharged my faith impawn'd to the Prince of *Orange*, for the delivery of it; as an act only intending his good, and so to be perform'd, or dispens'd with at his pleasure; yet for my satisfaction freely added these words: first, that the *Qu.* had the life it self daily attending her: and if she either did not, or would not value it so highly, the commendation
of

of that worthy Prince could be no more (at the best) than a lively picture of that life, and so of far less credit, and estimation with her. His next reason was, because Princes love not that forrain Powers should have extraordinary interest in their Subjects; much less to be taught by them how they should place their own: as arguments either upbraiding ignorance, or lack of large rewarding goodness in them.

This Narration I adventure of, to shew the clearness, and readiness of this Gentlemans judgement, in all degrees, and offices of life: with this farther testimony of him; that after mature deliberation being once resolved, he never brought any question of change to afflict himself with, or perplex the business; but left the success to His will, that governs the blinde prosperities, and unprosperities of Chance; and so works out His own ends by the erring frailties of humane reason and affection. Lastly, to manifest that these were not complements, self-ends, or use of each other, according to our modern fashion
but

but meer ingenuities of spirit, to which the ancient greatness of hearts ever frankly engaged their Fortunes, let Actions, the lawfully begotten children, equall in spirit, shape, and complexion to their parents, be testimonies ever sufficient.

My second instance comes from the Earle of *Leicester* his unckle, who told me (after Sir *Philips*, and not long before his own death) that when he undertook the government of the Low Countries, he carryed his Nephew over with him, as one amongst the rest, not only despising his youth for a Counsellor, but withall bearing a hand over him as a forward young man. Notwithstanding, in short time he saw this Sun so risen above his Horizon, that both he and all his Stars were glad to fetch light from him. And in the end acknowledged that he held up the honor of his casual authority by him, whilst he lived, & found reas^d to withdraw himself from that burthen, after his death.

My third record is Sir *Francis Walsingham*

ingham his Father-in-law ; that wife, and active Secretarie. This man (as the world knows) upheld both Religion and State, by using a policy wisely mixt with reflexions of either. He had influence in all Countries, & a hand upon all affairs ; Yet even this man hath often confessed to my self, that his *Philip* did so far overhooit him in his own Bow, as those friends which at first were Sir *Philip's* for this Secretaries sake, within a while became so fully owned, and posselt by Sir *Philip*, as now he held them at the second hand, by his Son-in-laws native courtesie.

This is that true remission of mind, whereof I would gladly have the world take notice from these dead mens ashes : to the end that we might once again see that ingenuity amongst men, which by liberall bearing witnesse to the merits of others, shews they have some true worth of their own ; and are not meerly lovers of themselves, without rivals.

CHAP.



CHAP. III.

TO continue this passage a little further: I must lift him above the censure of Subjects, and give you an account what respect, and honour his worth wanne him amongst the most eminent Monarchs of that time. As first with that chief, and best of Princes, his most excellent Majesty, then King of *Scotland*, to whom his service was affectionately devoted, and from whom he received many pledges of love, and favour.

In like manner, with the late renowned *Henry* of *France*, then of *Navarre*, who having measured, and mastered all the spirits in his own Nation, found out this Master-spirit among us, and used him like an equall in nature, and so fit for friendship with a King.

Again, that gallant Prince *Don John* de *Austria*, Vice-Roy in the Low Countries for *Spain*, when this Gentleman in
his

his Embassage to the Emperor came to kifs his hand, though at the first, in his Spanish haughture, he gave him access as by descent to a youth, of grace as to a stranger, and in particular competition (as he conceived) to an enemy ; yet after a while that he had taken his just altitude, he found himself so stricken with this extraordinary Planet, that the beholders wondered to see what ingenuous tribute that brave, and high minded Prince paid to his worth ; giving more honour and respect to this hopefull young Gentleman, than to the Embassadors of mighty Princes.

But to climb yet a degree higher : In what due estimation his extraordinary Worth was, even amongst enemies, will appear by his death. When *Mendoza*, a Secretary of many Treasons against us, acknowledged openly ; That howsoever he was glad King *Philip* his Master had lost, in a private Gentleman, a dangerous Enemy to his Estate ; yet he could not but lament to see Christendome depriv'd of so rare a Light in these cloudy times ; and bewail poor Widdow *England* (so he term'd

term'd her) that having been many years in breeding one eminent spirit, was in a moment bereaved of him, by the hands of a villain.

Indeed he was a true modell of Worth; A man fit for Conquest, Plantation, Reformation, or what Action soever is greatest, and hardest amongst men: Withall, such a lover of Mankind, and Goodnesse, that whosoever had any reall parts, in him found comfort, participation, and protection to the uttermost of his power; like *Zephyrus* he giving life where he blew. The Universities abroad, and at home, accompted him a generall *Maecenas* of Learning; Dedicated their Books to him; and communicated every Invention, or Improvement of Knowledge with him. Souldiers honoured him, and were so honoured by him, as no man thought he marched under the true Banner of *Mars*, that had not obtained Sir *Philip Sidney's* approbation. Men of Affairs in most parts of Christendome, entertained correspondence with him. But what I speak I of these, with whom his own waies, and ends did concur? since (to descend) his heart,

heart, and capacity were so large, that there was not a cunning Painter, a skilfull Engenier, an excellent Musician, or anyother Artificer of extraordinary fame, that made not himself known to this famous Spirit, and found him his true friend without hire; and the common *Rende-vous* of Worth in his time.

Now let Princes vouchsafe to consider, of what importance it is to the honour of themselves, and their Estates, to have one man of such eminence; not onely as a nourisher of vertue in their Courts, or service; but besides for a reformed Standard, by which even the most humorous persons could not but have a reverend ambition to be tried, and approved currant. This I doe the more confidently affirm, because it will be confessed by all men, that this one man's example, and personall respect, did not onely encourage Learning, and Honour in the Schooles, but brought the affection, and true use thereof both into the Court, and Camp. Nay more, even many Gentlemen excellently learned amongst us, will not deny, but that they affected to
row,

row, and steer their course in his wake. Besides which honour of unequall nature, and education, his very waies in the world, did generally adde reputation to his Prince, and Country, by restoring amongst us the ancient Majestie of noble, and true dealing: As a manly wisdom, that can no more be weighed down, by any effeminate craft, than *Hercules* could be overcome by that contemptible Army of Dwarfs. This was it which, I profess, I loved dearly in him, and still shall be glad to honour in the great men of this time: I mean, that his heart and tongue went both one way, and so with every one that went with the Truth; as knowing no other kindred, partie, or end.

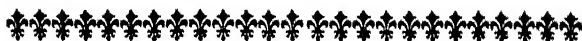
Above all, he made the Religion he professed, the firm Basis of his life: For this was his judgement (as he often told me) that our true-heartednesse to the Reformed Religion in the beginning, brought Peace, Safetie, and Freedome to us; concluding, that the wisest, and best way, was that of the famous *William* Prince of *Orange*, who never divided the consideration of Estate from the cause

of Religion, nor gave that found party occasion to be jealous, or distracted, upon any apparance of safety whatsoever; prudently resolving, that to temporize with the Enemies of our Faith, was but (as among Sea-gulls) a strife, not to keep upright, but aloft upon the top of every billow: Which false-heartednesse to God and man, would in the end find it self forsaken of both; as Sir *Philip* conceived. For to this active spirit of his, all depths of the Devill proved but shallow fords; he piercing into mens counsels, and ends, not by their words, oathes, or complements, all barren in that age, but by fathoming their hearts, and powers, by their deeds, and found no wisdom where he found no courage, nor courage without wisdom, nor either without honesty and truth. With which solid, and active reaches of his, I am perswaded, he would have found, or made a way through all the traverses, even of the most weak and irregular times. But it pleased God in this decrepit age of the world, not to restore the image of her
ancient

ancient vigour in him, otherwise than as in a lightning before death.

Neither am I (for my part) so much in love with this life, nor believe so little in a better to come, as to complain of God for taking him, and such like exorbitant worthyness from us: fit (as it were by an Ostracisme) to be divided, and not incorporated with our corruptions: yet for the sincere affection I bear to my Prince, and Country, my prayer to God is, that his Worth, and Way may not fatally be buried with him; in respect, that both before his time, and since, experience hath published the usuall discipline of greatness to have been tender of it self onely; making honour a triumph, or rather trophy of desire, set up in the eyes of Mankind, either to be worshiped as Idols, or else as Rebels to perish under her glorious oppressions. Notwithstanding, when the pride of flesh, and power of favour shall cease in these by death, or disgrace; what then hath time to register, or fame to publish in these great mens names, that will not be
offensive,

offensive, or infectious to others? What Pen without blotting can write the story of their deeds? Or what Herald blaze their Arms without a blemish? And as for their counsels and projects, when they come once to light, shall they not live as noysome, and loathsome above ground, as their Authors carcases lie in the grave? So as the return of such greatnes to the world, and themselves, can be but private reproach, publique ill example, and a fatall scorn to the Government they live in. Sir *Philip Sidney* is none of this number; for the greatnes which he affected was built upon true Worth; esteeming Fame more than Riches, and Noble actions far above Nobility it self.



CHAP. IV.

ANd although he never was Magistrate, nor possessed of any fit stage for eminence to act upon, wherby there is small latitude left for
comparing

comparing him with those deceased Worthies, that to this day live unenvied in story; Yet can I probably say, that if any supreme Magistracie, or employment, might have shewed forth this Gentlemans Worth, the World should have found him neither a mixt *Lyfander*, with unactive goodness to have corrupted indifferent Citizens; nor yet like that gallant Libertine *Sylla*, with a tyrannizing hand, and ill example, to have ordered the dissolute people of *Rome*; much less with that unexperienced *Themistocles*, to have refused, in the seat of Justice, to deale equally between friends and strangers. So that as we say, the abstract name of goodness is great, and generally currant; her nature hard to imitate, and diversly worshipped, according to Zones, complexions, or education; admired by her enemies, yet ill followed by her friends: So I may well say, that this Gentlemans large, yet uniform disposition was every where praised; greater in himself than in the world; yet greater there in fame and honour than many of his superiors; reverenced

reverenced by forrain Nations in one form, of his own in another; easily censured, hardly imitated; and therefore no received Standard at home, because his industry, judgement, and affections, perchance seemed too great for the cautious wisdoms of little Monarchies to be safe in. Notwithstanding, whosoever will be pleased indifferently to weigh his life, actions, intentions, and death, shall find he had so sweetly yoked fame and conscience together in a large heart, as inequality of worth, or place in him, could not have been other than humble obedience, even to a petty Tyrant of *Sicily*. Besides, this ingenuitie of his nature did spread it self so freely abroad, as who lives that can say he ever did him harm; whereas there be many living, that may thankfully acknowledge he did them good? Neither was this in him a private, but a publique affection; his chief ends being not Friends, Wife, Children, or himself; but above all things the honour of his Maker, and service of his Prince, or Country.

Now

Now though his short life, and private fortune, were (as I sayd) no proper stages to act any greatnes of good, or evill upon; yet are there (even from these little centers of his) lines to be drawn, not Astronomicall, or imaginary, but reall lineaments, such as infancy is of man's estate; out of which nature often sparkleth brighter rayes in some, than ordinarily appear in the ripeness of many others. For proof wherof, I will pass from the testimonie of brave mens words, to his own deeds. What lights of sounder wisdom can we ascribe to our greatest men of affairs than he shewed in his youth, and first employment, when he was sent by the late *Queen* of famous memory, to condole the death of *Maximilian*, and congratulate the succession of *Rodolph* to the Empire? For under the shadow of this complement between Princes, which sortd better with his youth than his spirit, did he not, to improve that journey, and make it a real service to his Sovereign, procure an Article to be added to his Instructions, which gave him

him scope (as he passed) to salute such *German* Princes, as were interested in the cause of our Religion, or their own native liberty?

And though to negotiate with that long-breathed Nation proves commonly a work in steel, where many strokes hardly leave any print; yet did this Master *Genius* quickly stir up their cautious, and slow judgements to be sensible of the danger which threatned them hourly, by this fatall conjunction of *Rome's* undermining superstitions, with the commanding forces of *Spain*. And when he had once awaked that confident Nation to look up, he as easily made manifest unto them, that neither their inland seat, vast multitude, confused strength, wealth, nor hollow-sounding Fame could secure their Dominions from the ambition of this brave aspiring Empire; howsoever by the like helps they had formerly bounded the same Roman, and Austrian supremacies. The reasons he alleged were, because the manner of this conjunction was not like the ancient undertakers,

undertakers, who made open war by Proclamation; but craftily (from the infusion of *Rome*) to enter first by invisible traffique of souls; filling peoples minds with apparitions of holines, specious Rites, Saints, Miracles, institutions of new Orders, reformations of old, blessings of Catholiques, cursings of Heretiques, Thunder-bolts of Excommunication under the authority of their Mother Church. And when by these shadows they had gotten possession of the weak, discouraged the strong, divided the doubtful, and finely lulled inferior powers asleep; as the ancient Romans were wont to tame forrain nations with the name *Socij*; then to follow on with the Spanish, less spirituall, but more forcible Engines, *viz.* practice, confederacy, faction, money, treaties, leagues of traffique, alliance by marriages, charge of rebellion, war, and all other acts of advantagious power.

Lastly he recalled to their memories, how by this brotherhood in evill (like *Simeon*, and *Levi*) *Rome* and *Spain* had spilt so much bloud, as they were justly
become

become the terror of all Governments ; and could now be withstood, or ballanced by no other means, than a general league in Religion: Constantly and truly affirming, that to associate by an uniform bond of conscience, for the protection (as I said) of Religion, and Liberty, would prove a more solid union, and symbolize far better against their Tyrannies, than any Factious combination in policy, league of state, or other traffique of Civill, or Martial humors possibly could do.

To this end did that undertaking spirit lay, or at least revive the foundation of a league between us, and the *German* Princes, which continues firme to this day: The defensive part whereof hath hitherto helped to support the ruines of our Church abroad, and diverted her enemies from the ancient ways of hostility, unto their *Conclave*, and modern undermining Arts. So, that if the offensive part thereof had been as well prosecuted in that true path, which this young *Genius* trod out to us; both the passage for other Princes
over

over the *Alps*, would have been by this time more easie than *Hanibal's* was; and besides, the first found of that Drum might happily have reconciled those petty dividing Schismes which reign amongst us; not as sprung from any difference of religious Faith, but misty Opinion; and accordingly moulded first upon the Desks of busie idle Lecturers, then blown abroad to our disadvantage by a swarm of Popish Instruments, rather Jesuits than Christians; and to their ends most dangerously overspreading the world, for want of a confident Moderator. This (I say) was the first prize which did enfranchise this Master Spirit into the mysteries, and affairs of State.



CHAP. V.

THE next doubtfull Stage hee had to act upon (howsoever it may seem private) was grounded upon a publike and specious proposition
of

of marriage, between the late famous Queen, and the Duke of *Anjou*. With which Current, although he saw the great, and wise men of the time suddainly carryed down, and every one fishing to catch the Queens humor in it; yet when he considered the difference of years, person, education, state, and religion between them; and then called to minde the success of our former alliances with the *French*: he found many reasons to make question whether it would prove Poetical, or reall on their part? And if reall; yet whether the ballance swayed not unequally, by adding much to them, and little to his Sovereign? The Dukes greatness being onely name, and possibility; and both these either to wither, or be maintained at her cost. Her state again in hand; and though Royally sufficient to satisfie that Queens Princely and moderate desires, or expences, yet perchance inferior to bear out those mixt designs, into which his ambition, or necessities might entise, or draw her.

Besides, the marriage of K. *Philip*, to Q. *Mary* her sister, was yet so fresh in memory,

memory, with the many inconveniences of it, as by comparing and paralleling these together, he found credible instances to conclude, neither of these forrain alliances could prove safe for this Kingdom. Because in her marriage with *Spain*, though both Princes continuing under the obedience of the *Roman Church*, neither their consciences, nor their peoples could suffer any fear of tumult, or imputation by change of faith; Yet was the winning of St. *Quintins*, with the loss of *Calice*, and the carrying away of our money to forrain ends, odious universally; the *Spanish* pride incompatible; their advantageous delays suspicious; and their short reign here felt to be a kinde of exhausting tax upon the whole Nation.

Besides, he discerned how this great Monarch countenanced with our Forces by sea, and land, might, and did use this addition of her strength to transform his Low-Countrey Dukedomes, fall'n to him by descent, into the nature of a soveraign conquest; and so by conjoyning their Dominion, and Forces by
Sea,

Sea, to his large Empires, and Armies upon the Mayn, would probably enforce all absolute Princes to acknowledg subjection to him before their time. And for our Kingdome, besides that this King then meant to use it as a forge, to fashion all his soveraign designs in ; had he not (except some bely him) a fore-running hand in the change of Religion after King *Edwards* death ? And had he not (even in that change) so mastered us in our own Church, by his Chaplain and Conclave of *Rome*, that both these carried all their courses byaced to his ends, as to an elder brother, who had more abundant degrees of wealth, and honour to return them ? so as every body (that devoted Queen excepted) foresaw we must suddenly have been compelled to wear his livery, and serve his ends ; or else to live like children neglected, or disfavoured by our holy Mother.

Again, for our temporall Government ; was not his influence (except report belie him) as well in passing many sharp lawes, and heavy executions of them with more
strange

strange Counsels; as fashioning our leagues both of peace, and traffique to his conquering ends? All these together, with that Master prize of his playing, when under colour of piety, he stirred up in that wel-affected Queen a purpose of restoring those temporalities to the Church, which by the fall of Abbies, were long before dispersed among the Nobility, Gentry, and people of this Kingdome: all these (as he said) did clearly shew, that this ambitious King had an intent of moulding us to his use, even by distracting us amongst our selves.

Neverthelesse, to give him the honor of worldly wisdom, I dare aver, he had no hope of bringing these curious assumptions to pass; but rather did cast them out, as sounding lines, to fathome the depths of peoples mindes; and with particular fear, and distraction in the owners, to raise a generall distast in all men against the Government. Now, if we may judge the future by what is past, his scope in all these particulars could be no other, but when our inward waters had been thoroughly troubled, then to

possess this diversly diseas'd Estate with certain poetickall titles of his own, devised long before, and since published by *Dolman*, to the end, that under the shadow of such clouds, he might work upon the next heir; and so cast a chance for all our goodes, lives, and liberties with little interruption. These, and such like, were the groundes which moved Sir *Philip* to compare the past, and present consequence of our Marriage with either of these Crowns together.

And though in danger of subjection he did confess our aliance with the French to be lesse unequall; yet even in that, he foresaw, diversitie of Religion would first give scandall to both; and in progress, prove fatall of necessity to one side. Because the weaker sect here, being fortified by strong parties abroad, and a husbands name at home, must necessarily have brought the native Sovereign under a kinde of Covert Baron, and thereby forced her Majesty, either to lose the freedom, and conscience of a good Christian, the honor
of

of an excellent Prince, or the private reputation of an obedient Wife. Neither could that excellent Lady (as he, and that time conceived) with these, or any other cautions, have countermined the mines of practice, whereby (it is probable) this Prince would have endeavoured to steale change of Religion into her Kingdom.

1. As first, by cavelling at the Authors, and Fathers that upheld her Church.

2. Then by disgracing her most zealous Ministers, through aspersions cast upon their persons, and advancing indifferent spirits, whose God is this world, the Court their heaven, and consequently their ends, to biace God's immortall truth to the fantasies of mortall Princes.

3. By the subtile latitude of school-distinctions, publicly edging nearer the holy mother Church; and therein first waving, then founding the peoples mindes; if not with abrupt; and spirit-fall'n tolleration, yet with that invisable web of connivencie, which is a snare to

entangle great, or little flies, at the will of power.

4. By a Princely licentiousness in behaviour, and conference, fashioning atheisme among her Subjects: as knowing that in confusion of thoughts, he might the more easilie raise up superstitious idolatry: which crafty Image of his, with all the nice lineaments belonging to it, was the more credible, in respect the French have scornfully affirm'd one chief branch of our Princes prerogatives to be, the carying of their peoples consciences which way they list. An absoluteness the more dangerous to their subjects freedom, because they bring these changes to pass (as the French say) under the safe conduct of our earth-eyd common law; and thereby make change legally safe, and constancie in the truth exceeding dangerous.

5. By a publique decrying of our ancient Customes, and Statutes; and from that ground, giving Proclamations a Royall vigor in moulding of pleas, pulpits and Parliaments, after the pattern

tern of their own, and some other forain Nations ; which in our Government is a confusion, almost as fatall as the confusion of tongues.

6. By employing no instruments among the people, but such as devise to sheer them with taxes, ransome them with fines, draw in bondage under colour of obedience, and (like Frenchified *Empsons*, and *Dudlies*) bring the English people to the povertie of the French Peasants, onely to fill up a *Danaus* five of prodigality, and thereby to secure the old age of Tyranny from that which is never old : I mean, danger of popular inundations.

7. To lift up Monarchie above her ancient legall Circles, by banishing all free spirits, and faithfull Patriots, with a kinde of shaddowed Ostracisme, till the *Ideas* of native freedom should be utterly forgotten ; and then (by the pattern of their own Duke of *Guise*) so to encourage a multitude of impoverishing impositions upon the people, as he might become the head of all discontentedness ; and under the envy of that art, stir them
up

up to depose their naturall annointed Sovereign.

8. When he had thus metamorphosed our moderate form of Monarchie into a precipitate absoluteness; and therein shaken all Leagues offensive or defensive between us, the Kings of *Denmark*, and *Sweden*, the free Princes of *Germany*, the poor oppressed soules of *France*, the steady subsisting *Hanses*; and lastly weakned that league of Religion, and traffique, which with prosperous success hath continued long between us, and the *Netherlanders*; then (I say) must his next project have been, either abusively to entise, or through fear enforce this excellent Lady, to countenance his overgrown party abroad, by suffering the same sect to multiply here at home, till she should too late discover a necessity, either of changing her faith, hazarding her Crown, or at least holding it at the joint courtesie of that ambitious Roman Conclave, or encreasing Monarchie of *Spain*. A Scepter, and Miter, whose conjunction brings forth boundless freedom to themselves, and begets a
narrow

narrow servitude upon all other Nations, that by surprize of wit, or power become subject to them.

9. Besides, in the practice of this Marriage, he foresaw, and prophesied, that the very first breach of Gods ordinance, in matching herself with a Prince of a diverse faith, would infallibly carry with it some piece of the rending destiny, which *Solomon*, and those other Princes justly felt, for having ventured to weigh the immortall wisdom in even scales, with mortall conveniency or inconveniency.

10. The next step must infallibly have been (as he conceived) with our shipping to disturb or beleaguer the *Netherlanders* by Sea, under colour, or pretence of honor unseasonably taken, even when the horse and foot of *France* should threaten their subsistence by land; and thereby (in this period of extremity) constrain that active people to run headlong into one of these three desperate courses, *viz.* Either to fly for protection to the Flower-de-Luce, with whom they join in continent; Or precipitately submit
their

their necks to the yoking Cittadells of *Spain*, against whose inquisitions, and usurpations upon their Consciences, and Liberties, so much money, and bloud had been shed, and consumed already; Or else unnaturally to turn Pirates, and so become enemies to that trade, by which they and their friends have reciprocally gotten, and given so much prosperity. The choice or comparifon of which mischiefes to them, and us, he briefly laid before me, in this manner.

First, that if they should incorporate with *France*, the *Netherlands* manufactures, industry, trade, and shipping, would add much to that Monarchie, both in peace, and war: The naturall riches of the French having been hitherto either kept barrain at home, or barrainly transported abroad, for lack of the true use of trade, shipping, exchange, and such other mysteries as multiply native wealth; by improving their man-hood at home, and giving formes both to domestique, and forrain materialls; which defect (as he said) being now abundantly to be supplied, by this conjunction with the
Netherlands,

Netherlands, would in a little time, not onely puff up that active Commonwealth with unquiet pride, but awake the stirring French to feel this addition to their own strengths; and so make them become dangerous neighbours by incursion or invasion to the Baltique Sea; many waies prejudice to the mutuall traffique between *Italy*, the *Germans*, and *England*; and consequently a terror to all others, that by land, or Sea confine upon them, yea and apt enough once in a year, to try their fortune with that growing Monarch of *Spain*, for his Indian treasure.

2. On the other side; if any stricter league should come to pass between those adventurous French Spirits, and the solid counsells of *Spaine*; and so through fear, scorn, or any other desperate apparances force the *Netherlands* into a precipitate, but steady subjection of that Spanish Monarchie; then he willed me to observe, how this fearfull union of Earth, and Sea, having escaped the petty Monarches of *Europe*, would in all probability, constrain them to play
after-games

after-games for their own Estates. Because these two potent Navies (his and the *Netherland's*) being thus added to his invincible Armies by land, would soon (as he thought) compell that head of holy mother Church, whose best use for many yeares had been (by ballancing these two Emperiall greatneses one with another) to secure inferior Princes: would (as I said) soon enforce that sacred Mother-head to shelter her self under the wings of this Emperiall Eagle, and so absolutely quit her Miter-supremacie; or at least become Chaplain to this suppressing, or supporting Conqueror.

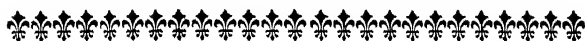
Besides, in this fatall probability he discovered the great difference between the wisdom of quiet Princes, in their moderate desires of subsistence, from the large, and hazardous counsells of undertaking Monarches; whose ends are onely to make force the umpier of right, and by that inequality become Sovereign Lords (without any other title) over equalls and inferiors.

3. Now for this third point, of contraining

straining this oppressed, yet active *Netherland* people to become Pirates: he willed me in the examples of time past to observe, how much *Scirpalus* did annoy the Grecians; *Sextus Pompeius* the Romans, even in their greatness; and in the modern, *Flushing*, *Dunkerk*, *Rochell* and *Algiers*. Inferring withall, that this people, which had so long prospered upon the rich materialls of all Nations, by the two large spreading armes of manufacture, and traffique, could not possibly be forced at once to leave this habit: but would rather desperately adventure to maintain these enriching strengthes of marriners, souldiers, and shipping of their own, with becomming a Rende-vous for the swarm of discontented subjects universally; inviting them with hope of spoil, and by that inheritance, to try whether the world were ready to examine her old foundations of freedom, in the specious, and flattering regions of change, and Powers encroachments?

Lastly, besides this uneven ballance of State; the very reflexion of scorn
between

between age, and youth; her comeliness, his disadvantage that way; the excessive charge by continuall resort of the French hither; danger of change for the worse; her reall native States and riches made subject to forrain humors; little hope of succession, and if any, then *France* assured to become the feat, and *England* the Province; children, or no children, misfortune, or uncertainty: These (I say) and such like threatning probabilities made him joyn with the weaker party, and oppose this torrent; even while the French faction reigning had cast aspersions upon his Uncle of *Leicester*, and made him, like a wise man (under colour of taking physick) voluntarily become prisoner in his chamber.



CHAP. VI.

Thus stood the state of things then: And if any judicious Reader shall ask, Whether it were not an error, and a dangerous one, for Sir
Philip

Philp being neither Magistrate nor Counsellor, to oppose himself against his Sovereigns pleasure in things indifferent? I must answer, That his worth, truth, favour, and sincerity of heart, together with his reall manner of proceeding in it, were his privileges. Because this Gentlemans course in this great business was, not by murmur among equals, or inferiours, to detract from Princes; or by a mutinous kind of bemoaning error, to stir up ill affections in their minds, whose best thoughts could do him no good; but by a due address of his humble reasons to the *Queen* her self, to whom the appeal was proper. So that although he found a sweet stream of Sovereign humors in that well-tempered Lady, to run against him, yet found he safety in her self, against that selfness which appeared to threaten him in her: For this happily born and bred Princess was not (subject-like) apt to construe things reverently done in the worst sense; but rather with the spirit of annointed Greatness (as created to reign equally over

over frail and strong) more desirous to find waies to fashion her people, than colours, or causes to punish them.

Lastly, to prove nothing can be wise, that is not really honest; every man of that time, and consequently of all times may know, that if he should have used the same freedome among the Grandees of Court (their profession being not commonly to dispute Princes purposes for truths sake, but second their humours to govern their Kingdomes by them) he must infallibly have found Worth, Justice, and Duty lookt upon with no other eyes but *Lamia's*; and so have been stained by that reigning faction, which in all Courts allows no faith currant to a Sovereign, that hath not past the seal of their practising corporation.

Thus stood the Court at that time; and thus stood this ingenuous spirit in it. If dangerously in mens opinions who are curious of the present, and in it rather to doe craftily, than well: Yet, I say, that Princely heart of hers was a Sanctuary unto him; And as for
the

the people, in whom many times the lasting images of Worth are preferred before the temporary visions of art, or favour, he could not fear to suffer any thing there, which would not prove a kind of Trophy to him. So that howsoever he seemed to stand alone, yet he stood upright; kept his access to her Majesty as before; a liberall conversation with the *French*, revered amongst the worthiest of them for himselfe, and born in too strong a fortification of nature for the less worthy to abborder, either with question, familiarity, or scorn.

In this freedome, even while the greatest spirits, and Estates seemed hood-winkt, or blind; and the inferior sort of men made captive by hope, fear, ignorance; did he enjoy the freedome of his thoughts, with all recreations worthy of them.

And in this freedome of heart being one day at Tennis, a Peer of this Realm, born great, greater by alliance, and superlative in the Princes favour, abruptly came into the Tennis-Court;
and

and speaking out of these three paramount authorities, he forgot to entreat that, which he could not legally command. When by the encounter of a steady object, finding unrespectiveness in himself (though a great Lord) not respected by this Princely spirit, he grew to expostulate more roughly. The returns of which stile comming still from an understanding heart, that knew what was due to it self, and what it ought to others, seemed (through the mists of my Lords passions, swoln with the winde of his faction then reigning) to provoke in yeelding. Whereby, the lesse amazement, or confusion of thoughts he stirred up in Sir *Philip*, the more shadowes this great Lords own mind was possessed with: till at last with rage (which is ever ill-disciplin'd) he commands them to depart the Court. To this Sir *Philip* temperately answers; that if his Lordship had been pleased to expresse desire in milder Characters, perchance he might have led out those, that he should now find would not be driven out with any scourge of fury.

This

This answer (like a Bellows) blowing up the sparks of excess already kindled, made my Lord scornfully call Sir *Philip* by the name of Puppy. In which progress of heat, as the tempest grew more and more vehement within, so did their hearts breath out their perturbations in a more loud and shrill accent. The *French* Commissioners unfortunately had that day audience, in those private Galleries, whose windows looked into the Tennis-Court. They instantly drew all to this tumult: every sort of quarrels forting well with their humors, especially this. Which Sir *Philip* perceiving, and rising with inward strength, by the prospect of a mighty faction against him; asked my Lord, with a loud voice, that which he heard clearly enough before. Who (like an Echo, that still multiplies by reflexions) repeated this Epithet of Puppy the second time. Sir *Philip* resolving in one answer to conclude both the attentive hearers, and passionate actor, gave my Lord a Lie, impossible (as he averred) to be retorted; in respect all the world

SIDNEY F knows,

knows, Puppies are gotten by Dogs, and Children by men.

Hereupon those glorious inequalities of Fortune in his Lordship were put to a kinde of pause, by a precious inequality of nature in this Gentleman. So that they both stood silent a while, like a dumb shew in a Tragedy; till Sir *Philip* sensible of his own wrong, the forrain, and factious spirits that attended; and yet, even in this question between him, and his superior, tender to his Countries honour; with some words of sharp accent, led the way abruptly out of the Tennis-Court; as if so unexpected an accident were not fit to be decided any farther in that place. Whereof the great Lord making another sense, continues his play, without any advantage of reputation; as by the standard of humours in those times it was conceived.

A day Sir *Philip* remains in suspense, when hearing nothing of, or from the Lord, he sends a Gentleman of worth to awake him out of his trance; wherein the *French* would assuredly think any
pause,

pause, if not death, yet a lethargy of true honour in both. This stirred a resolution in his Lordship to send Sir *Philip* a Challenge. Notwithstanding, these thoughts in the great Lord wandred so long between glory, anger, and inequality of state, as the Lords of her Majesties Counsell took notice of the differences, commanded peace, and laboured a reconciliation between them. But needlessly in one respect, and bootlessly in another. The great Lord being (as it should seem) either not hasty to adventure many inequalities against one, or inwardly satisfied with the progress of his own Acts: Sir *Philip* on the other side confident, he neither had nor would lose, or let fall any thing of his right. Which her Majesties Counsell quickly perceiving, recommended this work to her self.

The Queen, who saw that by the loss, or disgrace of either, she could gain nothing, presently undertakes Sir *Philip*; and (like an excellent Monarch) lays before him the difference in degree between Earls, and Gentlemen; the re-

spect inferiors ought to their superiors ; and the necessity in Princes to maintain their own creations, as degrees descending between the peoples licentiousness, and the anoynted Sovereignty of Crowns : how the Gentlemans neglect of the Nobility taught the Peasant to insult upon both.

Whereunto Sir *Philip*, with such reverence as became him, replied : First, that place was never intended for privilege to wrong : witness her self, who how Sovereign soever she were by Throne, Birth, Education, and Nature ; yet was she content to cast her own affections into the same moulds her Subjects did, and govern all her rights by their Laws. Again, he besought her Majesty to consider, that although he were a great Lord by birth, alliance, and grace ; yet hee was no Lord over him : and therefore the difference of degrees between free men, could not challenge any other homage than precedence. And by her Fathers Act (to make a Princely wisdom become the more familiar) he did instance the
Government

Government of K. *Henry* the eighth, who gave the Gentry free, and safe appeal to his feet, against the oppression of the Grandees; and found it wisdom, by the stronger corporation in number, to keep down the greater in power: inferring else, that if they should unite, the over-grown might be tempted, by still coveting more, to fall (as the Angels did) by affecting equality with their Maker.

This constant tenor of truth he took upon him; which as a chief duty in all creatures, both to themselves, & the sovereignty above them, protected this Gentleman (though he obeyed not) from the displeasure of his Sovereign. Wherein he left an authentical precedent to after ages, that howsoever tyrants allow of no scope, stamp, or standard, but their own will; yet wth Princes there is a latitude for subjects to reserve native, & legall freedom, by paying humble tribute in manner, though not in matter, to them.

CHAP.

*CHAP. VII.*

THE next step which he intended into the world, was an expedition of his own projecting; wherein he fashioned the whole body, with purpose to become head of it himself. I mean the last employment but one of Sir *Francis Drake* to the West Indies. Which journey, as the scope of it was mixt both of sea, and land service; so had it accordingly distinct Officers, & Commanders, chosen by Sir *Philip* out of the ablest Governors of those Martiall times. The project was contrived between themselves in this manner; that both should equally be Governours, when they had left the shore of *England*; but while things were a preparing at home, Sir *Fran.* was to bear the name, and by the credit of Sir *Phil.* have all particulars abundantly supplied.

The reason of which secret carriage was, the impossibility for Sir *Philip* to
win

win the Queen, or Government (out of the value which they rated his worth at) to dispense with an employment for him so remote, and of so hazardous a nature. Besides his credit, and reputation with the State lay not that way. So as our provident Magistrates expecting a Prentiship more seriously in Martial, than Mechanical actions; and therein measuring all men by one rule; would (as Sir *Philip* thought) not easily believe his unexperience equal for a designe of so many divers, and dangerous passages: howsoever wise men, even in the most active times have determined this art of Government, to be rather a riches of nature, than any proper fruit of industry, or education. This (as I said) was one reason, why Sir *Philip* did cover that glorious enterprize with a cloud. Another was, because in the doing, while it past unknown, he knew it would pass without interruption; and when it was done, presumed the success would put envy and all her agents to silence.

On the other side Sir *Francis* found
that

that Sir *Philip's* friends, with the influence of his excellent inward powers, would add both weight, and fashion to his ambition; and consequently either with, or without Sir *Philip's* company, yeeld unexpected ease, and honor to him in this voiage.

Upon these two divers Counfels they treat confidently together; the preparations go on with a large hand amongst our Governors; nothing is denyed Sir *Francis* that both their propounding hearts could demand. To make which expedition of less difficulty, they kept the particular of this plot more secret than it was possible for them to keep the generall preparations of so great a journey; hoping that while the *Spaniard* should be forced to arm every where against them, he could not any where be so royally provided to defend himself, but they might land without any great impediment.

In these termes Sir *Francis* departs for *Plimouth* with his ships; vowed and resolved that when he staid for nothing but for a wind, the watch word
should

should come post for Sir *Philip*. The time of the year made haste away, & Sr *Francis* to follow it, either made more haste than needed, or at least seemed to make more than really he did. Notwithstanding, as I dare aver that in his own element he was industrious; so dare I not condemn his affections in this misprision of time. Howsoever a letter comes post for Sir *Philip*, as if the whole fleet stayed onely for him, and the wind. In the mean-season the State hath intelligence that *Don Antonio* was at sea for *England*, and resolved to land at *Plimouth*. Sir *Philip* turning occasion into wisdom, puts himself into the imployment of conducting up this King; and under that veil leaves the Court without suspicion; over-shoots his father-in-law then Secretary of Estate in his own bow; comes to *Plimmouth*; was feasted the first night by Sir *Francis*, with a great deale of outward Pomp and complement.

Yet I that had the honor as of being bred with him from his youth; so now (by his own choice of all *England*) to be
his

his loving, and beloved *Achates* in this journey, observing the countenance of this gallant mariner more exactly than Sir *Philips* leifure ferved him to doe; after we were laid in bed, acquainted him with my obfervation of the difcountenance, and depreffion which appeared in Sir *Francis*; as if our coming were both beyond his expectation, and defire. Nevertheleffe that ingenuous fpirit of Sir *Philip's*, though apt to give me credit, yet not apt to difcredit others, made him fufpend his own, & labor to change, or qualifie my judgement; Till within fome few daies after, finding the fhippes neither ready according to promife, nor poffibly to be made ready in many daies; and withall obferving fome fparcks of falfe fire, breaking out unawares from his yoke-fellow daily; It pleased him (in the freedom of our friendship) to return me my own ftock, with interest.

All this while *Don Antonio* landes not; the fleet feemed to us (like the weary paffengers Inn) ftill to goe further from our defires; letters came from the
Court

Court to hasten it away : it may be the leaden feet, and nimble thoughts of Sir *Francis* wrought in the day, and unwrought by night ; while he watched an opportunity to discover us, without being discovered.

For within a few daies after a post steales up to the Court, upon whose arrivall an Alarum is presently taken : messengers sent away to stay us, or if we refused, to stay the whole Fleet. Notwithstanding this first *Mercury*, his errand being partly advertised to Sir *Philip* beforehand, was intercepted upon the way ; his letters taken from him by two resolute souldiers in Marriners apparell ; brought instantly to Sir *Philip*, opened, and read. The contents as welcome as Bulls of excommunication to the superstitious Romanist, when they enjoyn him either to forsake his right, or his holy Mother-Church, yet did he fit this first proceffe, without noise, or answer.

The next was a more Imperiall Mandate, carefully conveyed, and delivered to himself by a Peer of this Realm ;
carrying

carrying with it in the one hand grace, the other thunder. The grace was an offer of an instant imployment under his Unckle, then going Generall into the Low-Countries; Against which although he would gladly have demurred; yet the confluence of reason, transcendencie of Power, fear of staying the whole Fleet, made him instantly sacrifice all these selfnesses to the duty of obedience.

Wherein how unwillingly soever he yeelded up his knowledge, affections, publique and private endes in that journey; yet did he act this force in a gallant fashion. Opens his reserved endes to the Generall; encourageth the whole Army with promise of his uttermost assistance; saves Sir *Francis Drake* from blastings of Court, to keep up his reputation amongst those companies which he was presently to command; cleareth the daseled eyes of that Army, by shewing them, how even in that forrain imployment, which took himself from them, the Queen had engaged herself more waies than one against the Spaniards

Spaniards ambition: so as there was no probability of taking away her Princely hand from such a well-ballanced work of her own.

Neverthelesse as the Limmes of *Venus* picture, how perfectly soever began, and left by *Apelles*, yet after his death proved impossible to finish: so that *Heroicall* design of invading, and possessing *America*, how exactly soever projected, and digested in every minute by Sir *Philip*, did yet prove impossible to be well acted by any other mans spirit than his own; how sufficient soever his associate were in all parts of navigation; whereby the success of this journey fell out to be rather fortunate in wealth, than honor.

Whereupon, when Sir *Philip* found this, and many other of his large, and sincere resolutions imprisoned within the pleights of their fortunes, that mixed good, and evill together unequally; and withall discerned, how the idle-censuring faction at home had won ground of the active adventures abroad; then did this double depression both of things,

things, and men, lift up his active spirit into an universall prospect of time, States, and things: and in them made him consider, what possibility there was for him, that had no delight to rest idle at home, of repropounding some other forrain enterprize, probable, and fit to invite that excellent Princesses minde, and moderate Government, to take hold off. The placing of his thoughts upon which high pinnacle, layd the present Map of the Christian world underneath him.



CHAP. VIII.

IN which view, nature guiding his eyes, first to his Native Country, he found greatness of worth, and place, counterpoysed there by the arts of power, and favor. The stirring spirits sent abroad as fewell, to keep the flame far off: and the effeminate made judges of danger which they fear, and honor which they understand not.

The

The people (by disposition of the climate) valiant, and multiplying, apt indifferently to corrupt with peace, or refine with action; and therefore to be kept from rust, or mutiny, by no means better than by forrain employments: His opinion being that *Ilanders* have the air and waters so diversly moving about them, as neither peace, nor war, can long be welcome to their humors, which must therefore be govern'd by the active, and yet steady hand of authority. Besides he observed the Sea to have so naturall a Sympathie, with the complexions of them she invirons, as be it in traffique, piracie, or war, they are indifferent to wander upon that element; and for the most part apter to follow undertaking chance, than any settled endes in a Marchant-traffique.

Now for the blessed *Lady* which then governed over us: how equall soever she were in her happy creation for peace, or war, and her people (as I have shewed) humble to follow her will in either, yet because she resolved to keep within the *Decorum* of her sex, she shewed herself
more

more ambitious of ballancing neighbor Princes from invading one another, than under any pretence of title, or revenge, apt to question or conquer upon forrain Princes possessions. And though this moderate course carried her into a defensive war, which commonly falls out rather to be an impoverishing of enemies, than any meanes to enrich, or discipline their Estates that undertake it; yet could not all the racks of loss, injury, or terror, stir this excellent *Lady* into any further degree of offensive war, than onely the keeping of her Navy abroad, to interrupt the safe-comming home of his *Indian* Fleet, and hinder the provision, contracted for in all parts of *Europe*, to furnish another invincible Navy, wherewith he purposed to besiege the world, and therein (as his first step) her divided Kingdomes.

On the other side, in his survey of forrain Nations, he observed a fatall passiveness generally current, by reason of strange inequalities between little humors and great fortunes in the present *Princes* reigning.

Amongst

Amongst whom for the first object *Henry* the third of *France* appears to him in the likeness of a good Master, rather than a great King; buried in his pleasures, his Crown demain exhausted, impositions multiplyed, the people light, the Nobility prone to move, and consequently his Country apt, through scorn of his effeminate Vices, either to become a prey for the strongest undertaker, or else to be Cantonized by self-division. In both which possible disasters, their native wealth, and variety of objects, perchance have made both King, and people (howsoever confusedly erring) yet to live secured by the providence of chance.

Again, he saw the vast body of the Empire resting (as in a dream) upon an immoveable centre of self-greatness; and under this false assumption, to have laid the bridle on the neck of the Emperor, to work them artificially, with a gentle, or steady hand, to his own will.

And to confirm, and multiply this cloudy danger, he discerned how that

creeping Monarchie of *Rome* (by her Arch-instruments the Iesuits) had already planted fine Schooles of serving humanity in diverse of their reformed Cities: intending so to tempt this well-believing people, with that old forbidden tree of knowledge, as they might sin desperately against their own Estates, before they knew it.

The like mist these crafty mist-raisers intended (as he thought) to cast over that well-united fabrick of the *Hanse*s: whose endes being meerly wealth, and their seats invironed on every side with active, and powerfull neighbors, would (in all probability) make them as jealous of absolute Princes in prosperity, as zealous in distress to seek protection under them. So that they being at this time grown mighty by combination, if they should be neglected, would prove apt, and able to sway the ballance unequally to the endes of the stronger.

Besides, he discerned yet a greater, and more malignant aspect from that spreading Monarchie of *Spain*; which absolutely commanding the house of
Austria,

Austria, governing the *Conclave*, and having gotten, or affecting to get a commanding intelligence over these Cities; would soon multiply unavoidable danger, both to themselves, and us, by mixing the temporall, and spirituall sword, to their crafty conquering ends.

Nay more; how upon the same foundation they had begunne yet a more dangerous party, even amongst the German Princes themselves; by adding to the fatall opposition of Religion between them, the hopes, feares, jealousy, temptations of reward, or loss, with all the unnaturall feeds of division; which might make them, through these confused threatnings, and enticements, to become an easie prey for the Spaniards watchfull, unsatiable, and much promising ambition.

He likewise observed *Battorie*, that gallant man, but dangerously aspiring King of *Poland*, to be happily peised by the ancient competition between him, and his Nobility, and as busie to encroch upon their Marches, and add more to his own limited Sovereignty,

as they were to draw down those few prerogatives it had, into that well mixt, and ballanced *Aristocracie* of theirs.

Denmark, howsoever by the opportunity, and narrowness of his Sound, restrained to the selfness of profit; yet by discipline, and feat, able to second an active undertaker with shipping, money, &c. But too wise, with these strengths to help any forrain Prince to become Emperor over himself, or otherwise to entangle his Estate offensively, or defensively in common Actions.

The *Sweden* environed, or rather imprisoned with great and dangerous neighbours, and enemies. The *Polack* pretending Title to his Kingdom, and with a continuall claim by sword, inforcing him to a perpetuall defensive charge. The King of *Denmark* being unsafe to him upon every occasion, by ill neighbourhood among active Princes. And lastly, the barbarous *Moscovite*, onely quiet through his own distresse, and oppressions else-where. So as like a Prince thus strictly invironed, the
King

King of *Sweden* could not (among Princes) stand as any pregnant place of exorbitant help, or terror; otherwise than by money.

The *Switzers* swoln with equality; divided at home; enemies, yet servants to Monarchies; not easily oppressed, in the opinion of those times; nor able to doe any thing of note alone: and so a dangerous body for the soul of *Spaine* to infuse designs into.

The Princes of *Italy* carefull to bind one another by common caution; restrained from the freedom of their own counsells, by force of stronger powers above them, and as busie keeping down their people, to multiply profit out of them, as to entise the stranger thither, to gain moderately by him. Through which narrow kind of wisdom, they being become rather Merchant than Monarchall States, were confined from challenging their own, or enlarging their dominions upon neighbors; and lastly, in aspect to other Princes rights, conjured within neutrall Circles, by the mysticall practise of an abusing

Conclave,

Conclave, and aspiring Monarch of *Spain*.

The *Moscovite* bridled by his barbarous neighbor the *Tartar*; and through natural ignorance, and incivility, like a poor Tenant upon a rich Farm, unequal to his inferiors.

The *Grand Signior* asleep in his *Saraglia*; as having turned the ambition of that growing Monarchy into idle lust; corrupted his Martiall discipline; prophaned his *Alcoran*, in making war against his own Church, and not in person, but by his *Basba's*; consequently by all apparence, declining into his people by such, but more precipitate degrees, as his active Ancestors had climbed above them.

Now while all these Princes lived thus fettered within the narrowness of their own Estates, or humors; *Spain* managing the *Popedome* by voices, and pensions among the Cardinals, and having the sword both by land, & sea in his hand; seemed likewise to have all those Western-parts of the world, laid as a *Tabula rasa* before him, to write
where

where he pleased; *To el Ré*. And that which made this fatal prospect the more probable, was his golden Indian Mines; kept open, not only to feed, and carry his threatening Fleets, & Armies, where he had will, or right to goe; but to make way, and pretense for more, where he list, by corrupting, and terrifying the chief Counsels both of Christian and Heathen Princes. Which tempting, and undermining course had already given such reputation both to his Civil and Martiall actions; that he was even then grown as impossible to please, as dangerous to offend.

Out of which fearfull Almanack this wakeful Patriot, besides an universal terror upon all Princes, saw (as I said) that this immense power of *Spain* did cast a more particular aspect of danger upon his native Countrey: and such as was not likely to be prevented, or secured by any other Antidote, than a generall league among free Princes, to undertake this undertaker at home. To make this course plausible, though he knew the *Qu.* of *England* had already engaged

engaged her fortunes into it, by protecting the States Generall, yet perceiving her Governours (as I said) to sit at home in their soft chairs, playing fast or loose with them that ventured their lives abroad; he providently determined that while *Spain* had peace, a Pope, money, or credit; and the world men, necessity, or humors; the war could hardly be determined upon this Low-Countrey stage.

Because if the neighbour-hood of *Flanders*, with help of the suddain sea passage, should tempt these united Princes to fall upon that limb of the *Spanish* Empire; it would prove (as he supposed) an assailing of him in the strongest feat of his war; where all exchanges, passages, and supplies were already settled to his best advantage: and so a force bent against him, even where himself could wish it.

Flanders being a Province replenished with offensive, and defensive Armies: and fortified with divers strong Cities: of which the assailing Armies must be constrained, either to leave many behind them,

them, or else to hazard the loss of time, and their gallantest Troops in besieging of one.

Again he conceived that *France* it self was like enough to be tender, in seconding our designs with horse, or foot there; our neighbour-hood upon the same Continent (out of old acquaintance) not being over-welcome to them, as he presumed. And for succors from other Princes; they were to come far, and pass through divers dominions with difficulty, distraction, loss of time, and perchance loose-handed discipline.

And so concludes, first, that it would be hard for us to become absolute Masters of the field in *Flanders*, or to ground our assailing of him there upon any other argument, than that ever-betraying *Fallax* of undervaluing our enemies, or settling undertaking Counsels upon market-mens Intelligence, as *Cæsar* saith the *French* in his time used to do. Which confident wayes, without any curious examination what power the adverse party hath prepared to encounter, by defense, invasion, or division, must
probably

probably make us losers, both in men, money, and reputation. And upon these and the like assumptions he resolved there were but two ways left to frustrate this ambitious Monarchs designs. The one, that which diverted *Hanibal*, and by setting fire on his own house made him draw in his Spirits to comfort his heart; the other that of *Iason* by fetching away his golden Fleece, and not suffering any one man quietly to enjoy that, which every man so much affected.



CHAP. IX.

TO carry war into the bowels of *Spain*, and by the assistance of the *Netherlands*, burn his shipping in all havens as they passed along; and in that passage surprize some well-chosen place for wealth, & strength: easie to be taken, and possible to be kept by us: he supposed to be the safest, most quick, and honourable Counsell of diversion. Because the same strength of shipping

shipping which was offensively employed to carry forces thither; and by the way to interrupt all Martiall preparations, and provisions of that griping state; might by the convenient distance between his Coast, & ours (if the *Spaniard* should affect to pay us with our own monies) fitly be disposed both wayes; and so like two arms of a naturall body (with little addition of charge) defend, and offend; spend and supply at one time.

Or, if we found our own stock, or neighbours contribution strong enough to follow good success to greater designs; then whether our adventure once more, in stirring up spirit in the *Portugall* against the *Castilians* tyranny over them, were not to cast a chance for the best part of his wealth, reputation, & strength, both of men and shipping in all his dominions.

Again, lest the pride of *Spain* should be secretly ordain'd to scourge it self, for having been a scourge to so many, and yet in this reall inquisition escape the audacity of undertaking Princes;

Sir

Sir *Philip* thought fit to put the world in mind, that *Sevill* was a fair City ; secure in a rich soyl, and plentiful traffique ; but an effeminate kind of people, guarded with a conquering name ; and consequently a fair bait to the piercing eyes of ambitious Generals, needy Souldiers, and greedy Mariners. In like sort hee mentioned *Cales*, as a strength, and key to her traffiquefull, & navigable river, not fit to be neglected in such a defensive, and diverting enterprize, but at least to be examined.

Lastly, whether this audacity of undertaking the conqueror at home, would not, with any moderate success, raise up a new face of things in those parts ; and suddainly stir up many spirits, to move against the same power, under which they long have bin slavishly conjur'd, & by this affront, prove a deforming blemish in the nice fortune of a fearfull usurper ?

Or if that shall be thought an undertaking too full of charge, hazard, or difficulty ; then whether it wil not be just in the wisdom of Estate, managed
among

among active Princes; that as Qu. *Elizabeth* had ever been tender, in preserving her Sovereignty upon the narrow seas; and wisely considered, how nature, to maintain that birth-right of hers, had made all wars by sea far more cheap, proper, and commodious to her, than any expedition upon land could possibly be: I say, whether to continue this claim, would not prove honour to her self, advantage to her traffique, and reputation to her people; I mean, if shee should please, in those cloudy humors, & questions reigning between her self, and other Princes, to keep a strong successive fleet, all seasonable times of the year, upon this pretty *Sleeve*, or *Ocean* of hers? I say, to keep them as provident surveyers what did passe from one state to another, wherein the law of Nature, or Nations had formerly given her interest to an offensive, or defensive security. A Regall inquisition, and worthy of a sea-Sovereign, without wronging friends, or neighbours, to have a perfect intelligence what they had, or wanted for delicacy, peace, or war in generall: And in particular

ticular, a clear perspective glaſs into her enemies Merchant, or Martiall traffique, enabling this Queen ſo to ballance this ambitious *Leviathan* in either kind; as the little fiſhes, his fellow Citizens, might travell, multiply, & live quietly by him under the protection of nature.

Again, let us conſider, whether out of this, or the like Audit, it will not be found a juſt tribute to opportunity, the rudder of all ſtate wiſedoms. That as *Qu. Elizabeth* was a Sovereign, which reſted with her ſex at home, and yet moved all ſexes abroad to their own good; whether (I ſay) as ſhe from a devoted zeal to the Church, had by Sir *Nich. Throgmorton*, in the beginning of her reign, ſtirred up ſpirits in that over-mitred *French* Kingdom, to become watchful guardians of peace, and Religion there. I ſay, whether in the ſame Chriſtian providence there might not, by the neglect, or breach of many Treaties, an occaſion be juſtly taken to reap a reaſonable harveſt out of that well-chosen ſeed time, by receiving *Rochel*, *Breſt*, *Bordeaux*, or any other place

place upon that Continent, distressed for Religion, into her absolute protection? Nevertheless, not with intent of reconquering any part of her ancient Domaines, lineally descended from many ancestors; howsoever those places so taken may seem seated like tempters of Princes, to plead in the Court of *Mars* such native, though discontinued rights, as no time can prescribe against; but only to keep those humble religious souls from oppression, in that super-Jesuited soveraignty.

In which religious designe to encourage the *Qu.* he advised us to examine if the divisions naturally rising amongst their unlimited *French Grandees*, grown up *per saltum* with their Kings above Laws, Parliaments, and Peoples freedom; would not in all probability cast up som light dust into their superiors eyes, as tributes to their common Idol *Disorder*; and so perchance either by treaty, or sight of the first Army, stir up *Bouillon*, & *Rohan* for Religion; other Royetelets wth hope to make safe their subaltern governments, even through
the

the ruins of that over-soaring sovereignty?

And is it not as probable again, that even the greatest Cities, raised and standing upon the like waving encroachments of time, & advantageous power would readily become jealous of the least strict hand carried over them, by interruption of traffique, greediness of Governors, pride of their own wealth, or indefinite impositions; as *Paris*, *Bourdeaux*, *Marseilles*, *Roan*, or *Lyons*? whereby they might likewise be tempted, either to run head-long with the stream, or at the least to stand at gaze, and leave the Heraldry of Princes to be decided by the stronger party, as for the most part, they hitherto have been.

Nay in this Climax to come nearer yet; is it probable that even the Catholique Princes, and Provinces environing this vast Kingdome, would (as now they doe) for want of vent, break their hopes, and servilly run out upon the ground like water, and not rather when this new rent should appear, chuse to shake off a chargeable, & servile yoke of
Mountebank

Mountebank holiness under *Spanish Rome*, and to that end presently mingle money, counsels, and forces with ours? As quickly resolved that this way of a ballancing union, amongst absolute Princes, would prove quieter rest for them, and sounder foundations for us than our former parties did, when we conquered *France*, more by such factious & ambitious assistances, than by any odds of our Bows, or Beef-eaters, as the *French* were then scornfully pleas'd to terme us: I say, even when in the pride of our conquests, we strove to gripe more than was possible for us to hold: as appears by our being forced to come away, and leave our ancestors bloud, and bones behind, for Monuments not of enjoying, but of over-gripping & expulsion.

So that the sum of all is; whether the taking or surprize of *Calice*, *Rochel*, *Bordeaux*, or some such other good out, or inlet upon that Mayn, offered into our protection, would not prove honour to us, as a brave earnest either to war, or peace? Beneficiall to the *French* King,

and Crown against their wills ; as manifesting to their hot spirits, and young Councils, that undertaking is not all? And besides clearly shewing, in *Mars* his true glafs, how that once wel-formed Monarchy had by little, and little, let fal her ancient, and reverend pillars, (I mean Parliaments, Lawes, and Customes) into the narrowness of Proclamations, or Imperiall Mandates : by which like bastard children of tyranny she hath transformed her Gentry into Peasants, her Peasants into slaves, Magistracy into Sale works, Crown-revenue into Impositions. And therein likewise published the differences between Monarchs, and Tyrants so clearly to the world, as hereafter all Estates, that would take upon their necks the yoke of Tyranny, must justly be reputed voluntary slaves in the choice of that passive bondage.

Whereby, one question naturally begetting another, the next (as I take it) must be what this Austrian aspiring familie would doe, while these two Kingdoms should stand thus engaged? Whether invade the King of *Denmark* alone,

alone, hoping by his ruine to subdue the yet unsubdued Princes of *Germany*; to get the Sound, and Eastern Seas, with all their Maritime riches into his power: to bring the Hanse Towns into some captivated subjections, and thereby become Sovereign over all *Eastern* traffique by Sea, and land? Or else by lulling *France* asleep with Imperiall Matches, or promises, finde means to steal the Flower-de-luce into the Lyons garland; and in that currant of prosperity to Citadellize the long oppressed *Netherlands* into a tenure of uttermost bondage; and so build up his Eagles nest above the threatning of any inferior Region.

But it many times pleaseth God by the breaking out of concealed flashes from these fatall cloudes of craft, or violence, to awake even the most superstitious Princes out of their enchanted dreams; and cause them to resolve suddenly to make head against this devouring *Sultan*, with leagues offensive, and defensive. And by an unexpected union to become such frontier neighbours to this Crown-hunter, as he might with great

reason doubt their treading upon his large cloven feet, who intended to have set them so heavily upon the heads of many more ancient States, Peoples, or Scepters than his own. And lastly, in the same press, by this one affront in the Lions face, publishing to the world that power is infinite no where but in God: so as the first blow well stricken, most commonly succeeds with honor, and advantage to the judicious, able, and active undertakers.

Out of which divine providence, governing all second causes by the first; is it not probable that even the naturall vicissitudes of war, and peace, would bring forth some active propositions between these many waies allied Kingdomes of *England*, and *France*, to a perfect reconciliation, and as many again of irreconcilable division between them, and *Spain* & *France* being stirred up by a joint counsell, and proposition of assistance, to the recovery of her long sleeping rights in *Navarre*, or *Naples*; and *England* onely to distract this ambitious Monarch from his late Custom,
in

in deposing Kings, and Princes as *Navarre*, *Portugall*, the *Palatine*, *Brunswick*, &c., and as in a second course of his devouring gluttony, interrupt him from future prosecutions of *Denmark*, and *Germany* it self, to the same end; with this constant intent, to bring all the earth under one mans tyranny.

To prevent which deluge of boundless power, Sir *Philip* was of opinion, that more than charge, it could be no prejudice; if to the unvizarding of this masked triplicity between *Spain*, *Rome* and the Sovereign Iesuits of *France*; I say if the *Queen*, as defendress of the faith, for a main pledg of this new offensive, and defensive undertaken league, would be pleased to assist the French King with the same forces by Sea, or land, wherewith, till then, she had justly opposed against him. And consequently putting the Spaniard from an offensive, to a defensive War, manifestly publish, and give credit to this unbelieved truth, *viz.* that this Arch-Conqueror never intended other favor to the Pope, Emperor, or Iesuits, in all
this

this conjunction, than *Poliphemus* promised to *Ulyffes*, which was, that they should be the last whom he purposed to devour.

And farther to encourage these great Princes in this true balancing designe with the chargeable, and thorny passages proper to it; he providently saw the long threatned Dutchie of *Savoy* would be in their view: with assurance that this active Prince would think it a safe diversion of dangers from his domesticall Estate, and a fit stage to act his forrain cobwebbs upon, if he might have them shadowed under the wings of stronger, and every way more able Powers; without which his mean Estate must in all probability force him to shift his outward garments perchance too often.

The *Venetians* again, foreseeing with their Aristocraticall jealousy, that their Estate had onely two pregnant dangers hanging over it; the one Eastward from the grand Signior, who easily moves not his encompassing half Moon; the other Westward from this *Solyman* of *Spain*, whose unfatiable ambition, they knew,
would

would rest upon no centre, but creep along the Mediterranean Seas, till he might (contrary to the nature of those waters) over-flow all weak, or secure neighbor Princes, without any other title, or quarrell, than *Stet pro ratione voluntas*. And foreseeing again in this suddain violence, that they could expect no Estate to be selfly engaged in their succor; but must resolve to stand, or fall alone by that course. Where, on the other side, if the Eastern half Moon should but seem to move towards them; they were assured to have all the Estates of *Europe*, engaged by their own interests, to joine with them. Upon this view there is no doubt, but that wise City would have resolved it to be a choice of less evill, to joine with these great Princes, in diverting his Spanish gallies, and galleons by Sea, and his inveterate Armies by land from disturbing, or subjecting the safety, and traffique of all Christendom to his seven patch'd coated Kingdomes, rather than for want of heart or opportunity, to stand neuter (as they doe) and become
treasurers

treasurers both of money, and munition for him, that already intends thus to conquer them, and enjoy it.

Again, shall we (saide Sir *Philip*) in these collections of particulars, forget the state of *Italy* it self? which excellent temper of spirits, earth, and aire, having long been smothered, and mowed down by the differing Tyrannies of *Spain*, and *Rome*, shall we not be confident they would, upon the approaching of these armies, both stir up those benumbed Sovereignties, which onely bear the name of free Princes, to affect their own Manumissions, & help to chase away those succeeding and oppressing Garrisons, whose fore-fathers for many yeares had sold life, libertie, and lawes for eight pence the day; and so resolutely oppose those Spanish-born, or Spanish-sworn Tyrannies, which have for divers ages Lorded over that most equally tempered Nation?

Or whether the winter in those Seas, giving opportunity without suspition, may not encourage the Claim of our old rights in the Kingdom of *Sicilie*,
more

more legall than most of his Spanissh intrusions; and therein be welcome to the Grand Signior, the freedom of *Algiers*, even to *Italy* it self. And besides, if we prospered, yield abundance of wealth by spoil, and trade: with such a feat for diversion, or possession, as by many visible, and invisible helps, might be kept, or put away with infinite advantage?

Lastly, he made a Quære, whether the Pope himself would not (like a secular Prophet) to keep his becoming Chaplain a little the farther off; either wink, or at least delay his thundering curses, or supplies of *Peter-pence* against these qualifying Armies, onely to moderate the over-greatnesse of this Spanissh Monarchie? whose infancie having been nourished under the Miters holy water, and sophistries of his practising *Conclaves*, dares now imperiously publish to the world a resolution, of taking all other distinctions from amongst men, saving that Canonick regiment of wit and might, whereby he might so preserve his spirituall ambition

bition entire, without any charge or change of Religion, or Sovereignties from one hand to another, but like a holy father mediate the restoring of *Italy* to her ancient free, and distinct Principalities. Whereby now by this moderate course, admit the Pope for his part, should impair his temporall profits, and subaltern jurisdiction a while; yet shall he be sure, (as I said) to multiply his spirituall honors, and enlarge that Kingdom, by these works of *Supererogation*. And by joyning with his fellow Princes in a contribution, by way of accompt, or countenance to pay these great Armies, be sure to sit rent-free under his, and their own vines, as absolute spirituall, and temporall Princes ought to doe?

From which (saith he) this conclusion will probably follow; that the undertaking of this *Antonie* sangle, I mean *France*, would prove a begetting of brave occasions jointly to disturb this Spanish *Ottoman*, in all his waies of crafty, or forcible conquests. Especially since *Queen Elizabeth*, the standard of
this

this conjunction, would infallibly incline to unite with the better part, and by a suddain changing of *Mars* his Imperious Ensignes, into a well ballanced treaty of universall Peace, restore and keep the world within her old *equilibrium* or bounds.

And the rather, because her long custum in governing, would quickly have made her discern, that it had been impossible, by force, or any human wisdom to have qualified those over-grown Combinations of *Spain*; but onely by a countermining of party with party, and a distracting of exorbitant desires, by casting a gray-headed cloud of fear over them; thereby manifesting the well disguised yokes of bondage, under which our Modern Conquerors would craftily entice the Nown-adjective-natured Princes, and subjects of this time to submit their necks. A map (as it pleased her to say) of his secrets, in which she confessed herself to be the more ripe, because under the like false Ensignes, though perchance better masked, she had seen *Philip* the second after the same measure,

measure, or with little difference, to *Henry* the third of *France*, a principall fellow-member in that earthly founded, though heavenly seeming Church of *Rome*, when he redelivered *Amiens*, *Abbeville*, &c. together with that fouldier-like passage made by the Duke of *Parma* through *France*, to the relief of *Paris*. Yet whether this provident *Philip* did frame these specious charities of a conqueror, *Augustus*-like, aspiring to live after death greater than his successor; or providently foreseeing that the divers humors in succeeding Princes, would prove unable to maintain such green usurpations, in the heart of a Kingdom competitor with his seven-headed *Hydra* kept together onely by a constant and unnaturall wheel of fortune, till some new child of hers, like *Henry* the fourth, should take his turn in restoring all unjust combinations or encroachments; or lastly, whether, like a true cutter of Cumine feedes, he did not craftily lay these hypocritall sacrifices upon the Altar of death, as peace-offerings from pride to the temple of fear, or smoaks
of

of a dying diseased conscience choked up with innocent blood: of all which perplexed pedigrees, I know not what to determine otherwise; than that these Tyrannicall encroachments doe carry the images of Hell, and her thunder-workers, in their own breasts, as fortune doth misfortunes in that wind-blown, vast, and various womb of hers.

Or if this should seem of too high a nature, or too many chargeable parts: then whether to begin again where we left, and by the example of *Drake*, a mean born subject to the Crown of *England*, invade, possess, & inhabite some well chosen havens in *Peru*, *Mexico*, or both, were not to strike at the root, & assail him where he is weakest; & yet gathers his chiefeest strength to make himself Monarch over all the Western Climes? supplies being as easie to us, as to him, we having both winds, and seas indifferently open between us.

CHAP.

*CHAP. X.*

UPON due consideration of which particulars, he fore-seeing that each of the former required greater resolution, union, and expence, than the neutrality, diffidence, and quiet complexion of the Princes then reigning could well bear; and besides the freedome of choyce to bee taken away, or at the least obstructed by fatall mists of ignorance, or factious counsells reigning among the Ministers of Kings: he resolved from the grounds of his former intended voiage with Sir *Francis Drake*, that the only credible means left, was, to assail him by invasion, or incursion (as occasion fell out) in some part of that rich, and desert West-Indian Man.

First, because it is an observation among the wisest, that as no man is a Prophet in his own Countrey; so all men may get honour much cheaper far
off

off than at home, and at sea more easily than at land.

Secondly, in respect he discovered the Spanish conquests in those remote parts, so much noised throughout the world, to be indeed like their Jesuits Miracles; which coming far, were multiplied by Fame and Art, to keep other Nations in wonder, and blind worship.

Thirdly, out of confident believe, that their inhumane cruelties had so dispeopled, & displeased those countreys; that as he was sure to find no great power to withstand him; so might he well hope the Reliques of those oppressed *Cimerons* would joyfully take Arms with any forrainer to redeem their liberty, and revenge their parents blood.

Fourthly, by reason the scale of distance between *Spain* & *America* was so great; as it infallibly assured Sir *Philip*, he should find leisure enough to land, fortifie, and become Master of the field, before any succour could come thither to interrupt him.

Fifthly,

Fiftly, the pride, delicacy, and security of the *Spaniard*, which made him live without Discipline; and trust more to the greatness of his name abroad, than any strength, order, courage, or munition at home.

Sixtly, Sir *Philip* prophecyng what the pedigrees of Princes did warrant, I mean the happy conjunction of *Scotland*, to these populous Realms of *England* & *Ireland*; foresaw, that if this multitude of people were not studiously husbanded, and disposed, they would rather diminish, than add any strength to this Monarchy. Which danger (he conjectured) could only by this designe of forrain imploiment, or the peaceable harvest of manufactures at home, be safely prevented.

The seventh, and a chief motive indeed was, that no other action could be less subject to emulation of Court, less straining to the present humors of State, more concurring with expectation, and voice of time; nor wherein there was greater possibility of improving merit, wealth, & friends.

Lastly,

Laſtly, he did, as all undertakers muſt doe, believe that there is ever good intelligence between chance & hazard, and ſo left ſome things not ſummed up before hand by exact minutes. But rather thought good to venture upon the caſt of a *Rubicon* Dy; either to ſtop his ſprings of gold, and ſo drie up that torrent which carried his ſubduing Armies every where; or elſe by the wakefull providence of threatned neighbors, force him to waſt home that conquering Metall with infinite charge, and notwithstanding unwarranted from enriching thoſe enemies, whom he principally ſtudied to ſuppreſs by it.

To confirm which opinion, he foreſaw how this over-racked unity of the *Spaniſh* government (intending to work a change in the free courſe of nature) had interdicted all manufacture, traffick, or vent by ſea, or land, between the natives of *America*, & all nations elſe, *Spain* excepted. And withall, to make the barrenneſs of *Spain* more fertile, how he had improved that idle *Caſtilian*, by imployments, in activenes, wealth, and
SIDNEY I authority

authority over those vanquished creatures; suffering the poor native *Americans* to be supprest with heavy impositions, discouraging idleness, bondage of laws, sheering of the humble sheep to cloath the proud devouring Wolves; finally, under these, & such like quintessences of tyranny striving (as I said) even besides nature, to make barren *Spain* the Monarchy, & that every way more fertile *America* to be the Province. All which affectations of power to be wiser, & stronger than the truth, this Gentleman concluded would in fulnes of time make manifest; that the heavy can no more be forced to ascend, and rest fixed there, than the light to goe downward, as to their proper center.

Notwithstanding, the state of Tyrants is so sublime, and their errors founded upon such precipitate steps, as this growing *Spaniard* both did, doth, and ever will travell (with his forefathers in Paradise) to be equall, or above his Maker; and so to imprison divine laws within the narrownes of will, and humane wisdom, with the fettred selfnesses

nesses of cowardly or over-confident Tyranny. In which preposterous courses, to prevent all possibility of commotion, let the Reader be pleased to observe, how that continually he forceth his own subjects free-denized in *America*, to fetch weapons of defence, conquest, invasion; as well as ornament, wealth, necessity, and delicacy, out of *Spain*, meerly to retain want, supply, price, weight, fashion, and measure, still (contrary to nature) in that barren Crown of *Castile*, with an absolute power resting in himself to rack, or ease both peoples, according to the waving ends of an unsteddy, and sharp pointed Pyramis of power.

Nay, to rise yet a step higher in this bloody pride; Sir *Philip*, our unbelieved *Cassandra*, observed this limitless ambition of the *Spaniard* to have chosen that uttermost Citadell of bondage, I mean the Inquisition of *Spain*, for her instrument. Not, as in former Masks, to prune, or govern; but in a confidence rising out of the old age of superstitious fantasms, utterly to root out all seeds

of humane freedom; and (as Sr *Philip* conceived) with fatal dissolution to it self. In respect that these types of extremity would soon publish to the world, what little difference Tyrants strive to leave between the creation, use, and honor of men, and beasts, valuing them indifferently but as Counters, to sum up the divers, nay contrary uses, and Audits of sublime and wandring supremacy, which true glass would (in this Gentlemans opinion) shew the most dull & cowardly eye, that Tyrants be not nursing Fathers, but step-fathers; and so no anointed deputies of God, but rather lively Images of the dark Prince, that sole author of dis-creation, and disorder, who ever ruins his ends with over-building.

Lastly, where his reason ended, there many divine Precepts, and Examples did assure him, that the vengeance of God must necessarily hang over those hypocriticall cruelties, which under colour of converting souls to him, sent millions of better than their own, they cared not whither: And in stead of
spreading

spreading Christian religion by good life, committed such terrible inhumanities, as gave those that lived under nature manifest occasion to abhor the devily characters of so tyrannical a deity.

Now though this justice of the Almighty be many times flow, & therefore neglected here on earth; yet (I say) under the only conduct of this star did Sir *Philip* intend to revive this hazardous enterprize of Planting upon the Main of *America*; projected, nay undertaken long before, (as I shewed you) but ill executed in the absence of Sir *Philip*; with a designe to possess *Nombre de Dios*, or some other haven near unto it, as places, in respect of the little distance between the two seas, esteemed the fittest *Rendez-vous* for supply, or retreat of an Army upon all occasions. And besides, by that means to circle in his wealth and freedome, with a joynt fore-running Fleet; to the end, that if the fortune of Conquest prospered not with them, yet he should infallibly pay the charge of both
Navies,

Navies, with infinite loss, and dis-reputation to the *Spaniard*.

And in this project Sir *Philip* proceeded so far with the united Provinces, as they yeelded to assist, and second the ships of his Sovereign, under his charge, with a fleet of their own. Which, besides a present addition of strength, he knew would lead in others by example.

Again, for supply of these Armies, he had (out of that naturall tribute, which all free spirits acknowledge to superior worth) won 30 Gentlemen of great blood, and state here in *England*, every man to sell one hundred pounds land, to second, and countenance this first Fleet with a stronger.

Now when these beginnings were by his own credit and industrie thus well settled: then to give an excellent form to a reall work, hee contrived this new intended Plantation, not like an *Affylum* for fugitives, a *Bellum Piraticum* for *Banditi*, or any such base *Ramas* of people; but as an *Emporium* for the confluence of all Nations that love, or profess

profess any kinde of vertue, or Commerce.

Wherein to incite those that tarried at home to adventure, he propounded the hope of a sure, and rich return. To Martiall men he opened wide the door of sea and land, for fame and conquest. To the nobly ambitious the far stage of *America*, to win honour in. To the Religious divines, besides a new Apostolicall calling of the last heathen to the Christian faith, a large field of reducing poor Christians, mis-led by the Idolatry of *Rome*, to their mother *Primitive Church*. To the ingenuously industrious, variety of natural riches, for new mysteries, and manufactures to work upon. To the Merchant, with a simple people, a fertile, and unexhausted earth. To the fortune-bound, liberty. To the curious, a fruitfull womb of innovation. Generally the word gold was an attractive Adamant, to make men venture that which they have, in hope to grow rich by that which they have not.

What the expectation of this voyage
was,

was, the time past can best witnes; but what the success should have been (till it be revived by some such generous undertaker) lies hid in Gods secret judgements, who did at once cut off this Gentlemans life, and so much of our hope.

Upon these enterprises of his, I have presumed to stand the longer, because from the ashes of this first propounded voyage to *America*, that fatall *Low Country* action sprang up, in which this worthy Gentleman lost his life. Besides, I do ingenuously confess, that it delights me to keep company with him, even after death; esteeming his actions, words, and conversation, the daintiest treasure my mind could then lay up; or can at this day impart with our posteritie.



CHAP. XI.

T Herefore to come at the last to that diverting imployment, promised to him under his Uncle in the Low-Countries: he was, upon his
return

return to the Court, instantly made for Garrison, Governor of *Flushing*, and for the Field, General of the Horse; in both which charges, his carriage testified to the world, wisdom, and valour, with addition of honour to his Country by them.

For instance; how like a Souldier did he behave himself, first in contriving, then in executing the surprize of *Axil*? where he revived that ancient, and secure discipline of order, & silence in their March; and after their entrance into the town, placed a band of choice souldiers to make a stand in the Market-place, for securitie to the rest, that were forced to wander up and down by direction of Commanders; and when the service was done, rewarded that obedience of discipline in every one, liberally, out of his own purse.

How providently again did he preserve the lives and honor of our English Army, at that enterprize of *Gravelin*? where though he was guided by directions given him; yet whether out of arguments drawn from the person of

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La Motte, Commander of that town, who had a generall reputation of too much worth, either *Sinon*-like to deceive, or easily to be deceived; or out of the strength and importance of that place, precious to the owner in many respects, the least of which would redouble loss to the growing ambition of a Conqueror; or whether upon caution given by intelligence; or whatsoever light of diversion else; he (I say) was resolute not to hazard so many principall Gentlemen, with such gallant Troops and Commanders which accompanied him, in that flattering expedition. Yet because he kept this steady counsel in his own bosome, there was labouring on every side to obtain the honour of that service. To all which gallant kind of competition, he made this answer, that his own coming thither was to the same end, wherein they were now become his rivalls; & therefore assured them, that he would not yeeld any thing to any man, which by right of his place was both due to himself, and consequently disgrace for him to execute
by

by others: again, that by the same rule, he would never consent to hazard them that were his friends, and in divers respects his equals, where he found reason to make many doubts, and so little reason to venture himself.

Yet as a Commander, concluding something fit to be done, equally for obedience and triall, he made the inferior sort of Captains try their fortune by dice upon a drums head: the lot fell upon Sir *William Brown* his own Lieutenant, who with a choice company presently departed, receiving this provisionall caution from Sir *Philip*, that if he found practise, & not faith, he should straight throw down his Arms, and yeeld himself prisoner; protesting that if they took him, he should be ransomed; if they broke quarter, his death most severely revenged.

On these forlorn companies go with this Leader, & before they came into the town, found all outward signals exactly performed; when they were entred, every street safe and quiet, according to promise, till they were
past

past any easie recovery of the gate; then instantly out of the cellars underground, they were charged by Horſe and Foot. The Leader, following his Generalls commandement, discovers the treason, throws down his arms, and is taken priſoner. The reſt of the company retire, or rather fly towards their ſhips, but ſtil wounded and cut off by purſuit of their enemies; till at length a Serjeant of a band, with fifteen more, all *Sidney's* men (I mean ſuch as could die to win honour, and do ſervice to their country) made a halt, and being fortunately mixt of pikes, halberds, and muſkets, reſolved to be ſlain with their backs to their friends, and their faces to their enemies; they moved, or ſtaied with occaſion; and were in both continually charged with Foot and Horſe, till in the end eight were ſlain, and eight left alive. With theſe the Serjeant wounded in the ſide with a ſquare die out of a field-piece, made this brave retreat within view, and at laſt protection of their own Navy; bringing home even in the wounds, nay
ruins

ruins of himself, and company, reputation of courage, and Martiall discipline to his Country.

Moreover, in those private accidents of discontentment & quarrell, which naturally accompany great spirits in the best governed Camps, how discreetly did Sir *Philip* ballance that brave *Hollock*, made head of a party against his Uncle? When putting himself between indignities offered to his Sovereign, through the Earl of *Leicesters* person; and yet not fit for a supreme Governors place to ground a duel upon; he brought those passionate charges, which the Count *Hollock* addressed upwards to the Earl, down by degrees upon himself. Where that brave Count *Hollock* found Sir *Philip* so fortified with wisdom, courage, and truth; besides the strong partie of former friendship standing for him in the Counts noble nature; as though sense of honour, and many things else equal, and unequal between them, were in apparence beyond possibilitie of peeing; yet this one inequality of right on Sir *Philip*'s side, made the propounder
calm;

calm ; and by coming to terms of expostulation, did not only reconcile those two worthy spirits, one to another, more firmly than before ; but withall through himself wrought, if not a kind of unitie between the Earl of *Leicester*, and the Count *Hollock*, at least a finall surcease of all violent jealousies, or factious expostulations.

These particulars I only point out, leaving the rest for them, that may, perchance, write larger stories of that time. To be short ; not in complements and art, but reall prooffe given of his sufficiency above others, in very little time his reputation, and authority amongst that active people grew so fast, as it had been no hard matter for him, with the disadvantage of his Uncle, and distraction of our affairs in those parts, to have raised himself a fortune there. But in the whole course of his life, he did so constantly ballance ambition with the safe precepts of divine, and moral duty, as no pretence whatsoever could have entised that Gentleman, to break through the circle of a good Patriot.

CHAP.



CHAP. XII.

THus shall it suffice me to have trod out some steps of this *Britane Scipio*, thereby to give the learned a scantling, for drawing out the rest of his dimensions by proportion. And to the end the abruptness of this Treatise may suit more equally with his fortune, I will cut off his Actions, as God did his Life, in the midst; and so conclude with his death.

In which passage, though the pride of flesh, and glory of Mankind be commonly so allayed, as the beholders seldom see any thing else in it, but objects of horror, and pittie; yet had the fall of this man such natural degrees, that the wound whereof he died, made rather an addition, than diminution to his spirits. So that he shewed the world, in a short progress to a long home, passing fair, and wel-drawn lines; by the guide of which, all pilgrims of this life may conduct

duct themselves humbly into the haven of everlasting rest.

When that unfortunate stand was to be made before *Zutphen*, to stop the issuing out of the Spanish Army from a streict; with what alacrity soever he went to actions of honor, yet remembering that upon just grounds the ancient Sages describe the worthiest persons to be ever best armed, he had compleatly put on his; but meeting the Marshall of the Camp lightly armed (whose honour in that art would not suffer this unenvious *Themistocles* to sleep) the unspotted emulation of his heart, to venture without any inequality, made him cast off his Cuisses; and so, by the secret influence of destinie, to disarm that part, where God (it seems) had resolved to strike him. Thus they go on, every man in the head of his own Troop; and the weather being misty, fell unawares upon the enemy, who had made a strong stand to receive them, near to the very walls of *Zutphen*; by reason of which accident their Troops fell, not only unexpectedly to be engaged within the levell of the
great

great shot, that played from the Ram-piers, but more fatally within shot of their Muskets, which were layd in ambush within their own trenches.

Now whether this were a desperate cure in our Leaders, for a desperate disease; or whether misprision, neglect, audacity, or what else induced it, it is no part of my office to determine, but onely to make the narration clear, and deliver rumor, as it passed then, without any stain, or enammel.

Howsoever, by this stand, an unfortunate hand out of those forespoken Trenches, brake the bone of Sir *Philip's* thigh with a Musket-shot. The horse he rode upon, was rather furiously cholleric, than bravely proud, and so forced him to forsake the field, but not his back, as the noblest, and fittest biere to carry a Martiall Commander to his grave. In which sad progress, passing along by the rest of the Army, where his Uncle the Generall was, and being thirstie with excess of bleeding, he called for drink, which was presently brought him; but as he was putting the bottle

to his mouth, he saw a poor Souldier carryed along, who had eaten his last at the same Feast, gaskly casting up his eyes at the bottle. Which Sir *Philip* perceiving, took it from his head, before he drank, and delivered it to the poor man, with these words, *Thy necessity is yet greater than mine.* And when he had pledged this poor souldier, he was presently carried to *Arnheim*.

Where the principal Chirurgions of the Camp attended for him; some mercinarily out of gain, others out of honour to their Art, but the most of them with a true zeal (compounded of love and reverence) to doe him good, and (as they thought) many Nations in him. When they began to dress his wound, he both by way of charge, and advice, told them, that while his strength was yet entire, his body free from feaver, and his mind able to endure, they might freely use their art, cut, and search to the bottome. For besides his hope of health, he would make this farther profit of the pains which he must suffer,

suffer, that they should bear witness, they had indeed a sensible natured man under their hands, yet one to whom a stronger Spirit had given power above himself, either to do, or suffer. But if they should now neglect their Art, and renew torments in the declination of nature, their ignorance, or over-tenderness would prove a kind of tyranny to their friend, and consequently a blemish to their reverend science.

With love and care well mixt, they began the cure, and continued it some sixteen dayes, not with hope, but rather such confidence of his recovery, as the joy of their hearts over-flowed their discretion, and made them spread the intelligence of it to the *Queen*, and all his noble friends here in *England*, where it was received, not as private, but publique good news.

Onely there was one Owle among all the birds, which though looking with no less zealous eyes than the rest, yet saw, and presaged more despair: I mean an excellent Chirurgion of the Count *Hollocks*, who although the Count him-

self lay at the same instant hurt in the throat with a Musket shot, yet did he neglect his own extremitie to save his friend, and to that end had sent him to Sir *Philip*. This Chirurgion notwithstanding (out of love to his Master) returning one day to dress his wound, the Count cheerfully asked him how Sir *Philip* did? And being answered with a heavy countenance, that he was not well; at these words the worthy Prince (as having more sense of his friends wounds, than his own) cries out, Away villain, never see my face again, till thou bring better news of that mans recovery; for whole redemption many such as I were happily lost.

This honourable act I relate, to give the world one modern example; first, that greatness of heart is not dead every where; and then, that war is both a fitter mould to fashion it, and stage to act it on, than peace can be; and lastly, that the reconciliation of enemies may prove safe, and honourable, where the ciment on either side
is

is worth. So as this *Florentine* precept concerning reconciled enemies, deserves worthily to be buried with unworthines the author of it, or at least the practise of it cryed down, and banished, to reign among barbarous heathen spirits, who while they think life the uttermost of all things, hold it safe in no body that their own errors make doubtfull to them. And such seems every man that moves any passion, but pleasure, in those intricate natures.

Now after the sixteenth day was past, and the very shoulder-bones of this delicate Patient worn through his skin, with constant, and obedient posturing of his body to their Art; he judiciously observing the pangs his wound stang him with by fits, together with many other symptoms of decay, few or none of recovery, began rather to submit his body to these Artists, than any farther to believe in them. During which suspense, he one morning lifting up the clothes for change & ease of his body, smelt some extraordinary noisom favor about him, differing from oyls
and

and falvs, as he conceived; & either out of naturall delicacy, or at least care not to offend others, grew a little troubled with it; which they that fate by perceiving, besought him to let them know what suddain indisposition he felt? Sir *Philip* ingenuously told it, and desired them as ingenuously to confess, whether they felt any such noisome thing, or no? They all protested against it upon their credits. Whence Sir *Philip* presently gave this severe doom upon himself; that it was inward mortification, and a welcome messenger of death.

Shortly after, when the Chirurgions came to dress him, he acquainted them with these piercing intelligences between him, and his mortality. Which though they opposed by authority of books, paralleling of accidents, and other artificiall probabilities; yet moved they no alteration in this man, who judged too truly of his own estate, and from more certain grounds, than the vanity of opinion in erring artificers could possibly pierce into. So that afterwards,

wards, how freely soever he left his body subject to their practise, and continued a patient beyond exception; yet did he not change his minde, but as having cast off all hope, or desire of recovery, made, and divided that little span of life which was left him in this manner.



CHAP. XIII.

First, he called the Ministers unto him; who were all excellent men, of divers Nations, and before them made such a confession of Christian faith, as no book but the heart can truly, and feelingly deliver. Then desired them to accompany him in Prayer, wherein hee besought leave to lead the assembly, in respect, (as he said) that the secret sins of his own heart were best known to himself, and out of that true sense, he more properly instructed to apply the eternall Sacrifice of our Saviours Passion and Merits to him.

His

His religious Zeal prevailed with this humbly devout, & afflicted company; In which wel chosen progress of his, howsoever they were all moved, and those sweet motions witnessed by sighes and tears, even interrupting their common devotion; yet could no man judge in himself, much less in others, whether this racke of heavenly agony, whereupon they all stood, were forced by sorrow for him, or admiration of him; the fire of this *Phoenix* hardly being able out of any ashes to produce his equall, as they conceived.

Here this first mover stayed the motions in every man, by staying himself. Whether to give rest to that frail wounded flesh of his, unable to bear the bent of eternity so much affected, any longer; or whether to abstract that spirit more inwardly, and by chewing as it were the cudd of meditation, to imprint those excellent images in his soul; who can judge but God? Notwithstanding, in this change, (it should seem) there was little, or no change in the object. For instantly after prayer,
he

he entreated this quire of divine Philosophers about him, to deliver the opinion of the ancient Heathen, touching the immortality of the soul; First, to see what true knowledge she retains of her own essence, out of the light of her self; then to parallel with it the most pregnant authorities of the old, and new Testament, as supernatural revelations, sealed up from our flesh, for the divine light of faith to reveal, and work by. Not that he wanted instruction, or assurance; but because this fixing of a lovers thoughts upon those eternall beauties, was not only a cheering up of his decaying spirits, but as it were a taking possession of that immortall inheritance, which was given unto him by his brother-hood in CHRIST.

The next change used, was the calling for his Will; which though at first sight it may seem a descent from heaven to earth again; yet he that observes the distinction of those offices, which he practised in bestowing his own, shall discern, that as the soul of man is all in all, and all in every part; so was
the

the goodnes of his nature equally dispersed, into the greatest, and least actions of his too short life. Which Will of his, will ever remain for a witness to the world, that those sweet, and large, even dying affections in him, could no more be contracted with the narrowness of pain, grief, or sickness, than any sparkle of our immortality can bee privately buried in the shadow of death.

Here again this restless soul of his (changing only the aire, and not the cords of her harmony) calls for Musick; especially that song which himself had intitled, *La cuisse rompue*. Partly (as I conceive by the name) to shew that the glory of mortal flesh was shaken in him: and by that Musick it self, to fashion and enfranchise his heavenly soul into that everlasting harmony of Angels, whereof these Concords were a kinde of terrestriall *Echo*: And in this supreme, or middle Orb of Contemplations, he blessedly went on, within a circular motion, to the end of all flesh.

The last scene of this Tragedy was the parting between the two brothers:
the

the weaker shewing infinite strength in suppressing sorrow, and the stronger infinite weakness in expressing of it. So far did invaluable worthiness, in the dying brother enforce the living to descend beneath his owne worth, and by abundance of childish tears, bewail the publique, in his particular loss. Yea so far was his true remission of minde transformed into ejulation, that Sir *Philip*, (in whom all earthly passion did even as it were flash, like lights ready to burn out) recalls those spirits together with a strong vertue, but weak voice; mildly blaming him for relaxing the frail strengths left to support him, in his finall combate of separation at hand. And to stop this naturall torrent of affection in both, took his leave, with these admonishing words:

*Love my Memorie, cherish my
Friends; their Faith to me may
assure you they are honest. But
above all, govern your Will, and
Affections,*

Affections, by the Will and Word of your Creator ; in me, beholding the end of this World, with all her Vanities.

And with this Fare-well, desired the company to lead him away. Here this noble Gentleman ended the too short Scene his life ; in which path, whosoever is not confident that he walked the next way to eternall rest, will be found to judge uncharitably.

Thus you see how it pleased God to shew forth, and then suddenly withdraw this precious light of our skie ; and in some sort adopted Patriot of the States-Generall. Between whom, and him, there was such a sympathy of affections ; as they honoured that exorbitant worth in Sir *Philip*, by which time, and occasion had been like enough to metamorphose this new Aristocracy of theirs into their ancient, and much honoured forme of *Dukedome*. And he again applauded that universall ingenuitie, and prosperous undertakings of theirs ; over which
perchance

perchance he felt something in his own nature, possible in time to become an elect Commander. So usuall is it for all mortall constitutions, to affect that, which insensibly often works change in them to better, or worse.

Now though I am not of their faith, who affirme wise men can governe the Starres; yet do I beleeeve no Star-gazers can so well prognosticate the good, or ill of all Governments, as the providence of men trained up in publique affaires may doe. Whereby they differ from Prophets only in this; that Prophets by inspiration, and these by consequence, judge of things to come.

Amongst which kind of Prophets, give me leave to reckon this Gentleman; who first having, out of the credible *Almanach* of History, registred the growth, health, disease, and periods of Governments: that is to say, when Monarchies grow ready for change, by over-relaxing, or contracting, when the states of few, or many continue, or forsake to be the same: and in the constant course of these vicissitudes, having fore-
seen

seen the easie satietie of mankinde with Religion, and Government, their naturall discontentment with the present, and aptnesse to welcome alteration: And againe, in the descent of each particular forme to her owne centre, having observed how these United Provinces had already changed from their ancient Dukedomes to Popularitie; and yet in that Popularitie, been forced to seek protection among the Monarchs then raigning; and to make perfect this judgment of his, had summ'd up the league offensive, and defensive between us, and them; even then he grew doubtfull, lest this advantage would in time leave latitude for envy, and competencie, to work some kind of rent in our Union.

But when in the progresse of this prospect, he fell into a more particular consideration of their traffique, and ours: they without any native commodities (Art and diligence excepted) making themselves Masters of wealth in all Nations: We againe, by exporting our substantiall riches, to import a superfluous

perfluous masse of trifles, to the vaine exhausting of our home-borne staple commodities; he certainly concluded, that this true Philosophers stone of traf-fique, which not only turned base mettals into gold, but made profit by Wars in their owne bosomes, would infallibly stir up emulation in such lookers on, as were far from striving otherwise to imitate them.

And out of these, or the like grounds hath many times told me, that this active people (which held themselves constantly to their Religion, and Freedome) would at length grow from an adjective, to a substantive, and prosperous subsistence. Whereas we on the other side, dividing our selves, and waving in both, should first become jealous, then strange to our friends, and in the end (by reconciliation with our common enemy) moderate that zeale, wherein excessse only is the meane; and so be forced to cast our fortunes into their armes for support, who are most interested in our dishonour, and ruine. These with many other dangers (which
he

he provisionally feared) howsoever the wisdom of our Government may perchance have put off by prevention: yet were more then conjecturall in the aspect of superior, inferior, forraigne, and domestique Princes then reigning.

But suppose we could not by this Kalender comprehend the change of Aspects, and Policies in severall Kingdomes; yet we may at least therein discern, both the judgment of this *Prometheus* concerning our selves, and the tender affection he carried to that oppressed Nation. Which respect of his they againe so well understood, as after his death the States of *Zealand* became suitors to her Majesty, & his noble friends, that they might have the honour of burying his body at the publique expence of their Government. A memorable wisdom of thankfulness, by well handling the dead, to encourage, and multiply faith in the living.

Which request had it been granted, the Reader may please to consider, what Trophies it is likely they would have erected over him, for posterity to admire,

mire, and what inscriptions would have been devised for eternizing his memory. Indeed fitter for a great, and brave Nation to enlarge, then the capacitie, or good will of a private, and inferior friend. For my own part I confesse, in all I have here set downe of his worth, and goodnesse; I find my self still short of that honour he deserved, and I desired to doe him.

I must therefore content my selfe with this poor demonstration of homage; and so proceed to say somewhat of the toyes, or Pamphlets, which I inscribe to his memory, as monuments of true affection between us; whereof (you see) death hath no power.



CAP. XIV.

When my youth, with favour of Court in some moderate proportion to my birth, and breeding in the activenesse of that time, gave mee opportunity of most businesse: then

did my yet undiscouraged Genius most affect to finde, or make work for it self. And out of that freedom, having many times offered my fortune to the course of Forraigne employments, as the properest forges to fashion a Subject for the reall services of his Sovereigne; I found the returnes of those mis-placed endeavours to prove, both a vaine charge to my selfe, and an offensive undertaking to that excellent Governesse over all her Subjects duties and affections.

For instance, how mild soever those mixtures of favours, and corrections were in that Princely Lady: yet to shew that they fell heavy in crossing a young mans ends; I will onely choose, and alleage foure out of many, some with leave, some without.

First, when those two mighty Armies of *Don Iohns*, and the Duke *Casimires*, were to meet in the Low Countries; my horses, with all other preparations being shipped at *Dover*, with leave under her Bill assigned: Even then was I stayed by a Princely Mandate, the
Messenger

Messenger Sir *Edward Dier*. Wherein whatsoever I felt, yet I appeale to the judicious Reader, whether there be any latitude left (more then humble obedience) in these nice cases between duty, and selfeneſſe, in a Soveraignes ſervice?

After this, when Mr Secretary *Walſingham* was ſent Embaſſador, to treat with thoſe two Princes in a buſineſſe ſo much concerning Chriſtian blood, and Chriſtian Empires; then did the ſame irregular motion (which ſeldome reſts, but ſteales where it cannot trade) perſwade me, that whoſoever would venture to go without leave, was ſure never to bee ſtayed. Upon which falſe axiome (truſting the reſt to chance) I went over with Mr Secretary, unknown: But at my returne was forbidden her preſence for many moneths.

Againe, when my Lord of *Leiceſter* was ſent Generall of Her Majeſties Forces into the *Low Countries*, and had given me the command of an hundred Horſe; then I giving my humors over to good order, yet found, that neither

the earnest intercession of this Grandee, seconded with mine own humble sute, and many other Honourable Friends of mine, could prevaile against the constant course of this excellent Lady with her Servants. So as I was forced to tarry behind; and for this importunity of mine to change my course, and seem to preferre nothing before my service about her: This Princeesse of Government, as well as Kingdomes, made me live in her Court a spectacle of disfavour, too long as I conceived.

Lastly, the universall fame of a battle to bee fought, between the prime Forces of *Henry* the third, and the religious of *Henry* the fourth, then King of *Navarre*; lifting me yet once more above this humble earth of duty, made me resolve to see the difference between Kings present, and absent in their Martiall Expeditions. So that without acquainting any creature, the Earle of *Essex* excepted, I shipped my selfe over: and at my returne, was kept from her presence full six moneths, and then received after a strange manner. For this

this absolute Prince, to sever ill example from grace, averrs my going over to bee a secret imployment of Hers: and all these other petty exiles, a making good of that cloud, or figure, which she was pleased to cast over my absence. Protecting me to the world with the honour of her imployment, rather then she would, for examples sake, be forced either to punish mee farther, or too easily forgive a contempt, or neglect, in a Servant so near about her, as she was pleased to conceive it.

By which many warnings, I finding the specious fires of youth to prove far more scorching, then glorious, called my second thoughts to counsell, and in that Map cleerly discerning Action, and Honor, to fly with more wings then one: and that it was sufficient for the plant to grow where his Soveraignes hand had planted it; I found reason to contract my thoughts from those larger, but wandring *Horizons*, of the world abroad, and bound my prospect within the safe limits of duty, in such home services, as were acceptable to my Soveraigne.

In

In which retired view, Sir *Philip Sidney*, that exact image of quiet, and action : happily united in him, and seldome well divided in any ; being ever in mine eyes, made me thinke it no small degree of honour to imitate, or tread in the steps of such a Leader. So that to faile by his Compasse, was shortly (as I said) one of the principall reasons I can alleage, which perswaded me to steale minutes of time from my daily services, and employ them in this kind of writing.

Since my declining age, it is true, that I had (for some yeeres) more leasure to discover their imperfections, then care, or industry to amend them : finding in my selfe, what all men complaine of in the world, that it is more easie to finde fault, excuse, or tolerate, then to examine, and reforme.

The workes (as you see) are Tragedies, with some Treatises annexed. The Treatises (to speake truly of them) were first intended to be for every Act a Chorus : and though not borne out of the present matter acted, yet being the largest subjects I could then think upon,
and

and no such strangers to the scope of the Tragedies, but that a favourable Reader might easily find some confanguinitie between them ; I preferring this generall scope of profit, before the self-reputation of being an exact Artisan in that Poeticall Mystery, conceived that a perspective into vice, and the unprofitabilities of it, would prove more acceptable to every good Readers ends, then any bare murmur of discontented spirits against their present Government, or horrible periods of exorbitant passions among equals.

Which with humble sayles after I had once ventured upon this spreading *Ocean* of Images, my apprehensive youth, for lack of a well touched compasse, did easily wander beyond proportion. And in my old age againe, looking back on them with a fathers eye : when I considered first, how poorly the inward natures of those glorious names were expressed : then how much easier it was to excuse deformities, then to cure them ; though I found reason to change their places, yet I could not find in my heart
to

to bestow cost, or care, in altering their light, and limited apparell in verse.

From hence to come particularly to that Treatise intitl'd : *The Declination of Monarchy*. Let me beg leave of the favourable Reader, to bestow a few lines more in the story of this Changling, then I have done in the rest ; and yet to use no more serious authority then the rule of *Diogenes*, which was, to hang the Posie where there is most need.

The first birth of that *Phantasme* was divided into three parts, with intention of the Author, to be disposed amongst their fellows, into three diverse Acts of the Tragedies. But (as I said before) when upon a second review, they, and the rest were all ordain'd to change their places ; then did I (like an old, and fond Parent, unlike to get any more children) take pains rather to cover the dandled deformities of these creatures with a coat of many seames, then carelesly to drive them away, as birds doe their young ones.

Yet againe, when I had in mine own case well weigh'd the tenderesse of
that

that great subject; and consequently, the nice path I was to walke in between two extremities; but especially the danger, by treading aside, to cast scandall upon the sacred foundations of Monarchy; together with the fate of many Metaphysicall *Phormio's* before me, who had lost themselves in teaching Kings, and Princes, how to governe their People: then did this new prospect dazzle mine eyes, and suspend my travell for a time.

But the familiar self-love, which is more or lesse born in every man, to live, and dye with him, presently moved me to take this Bear-whelp up againe and licke it. Wherein I, rowling my selfe under the banner of this flattery, went about (as a fond mother) to put on richer garments, in hope to adorne them. But while these clothes were in making, I perceived that cost would but draw more curious eyes to observe deformities. So that from these checks a new counsell rose up in me, to take away all opinion of seriousnessse from these perplexed pedegrees; and to this
end

end carelessly cast them into that hypocriticall figure *Ironia*, wherein men commonly (to keep above their workes) seeme to make toiles of the utmost they can doe.

And yet againe, in that confusing mist, when I beheld this grave subject (which should draw reverence and attention) to bee over-spangled with lightnesse, I forced in examples of the Roman gravity, and greatnesse, the harsh severity of the *Lacedemonian* Government; the riches of the *Athenian* learning, wit, and industry; and like a man that plaies divers parts upon severall hints, left all the indigested crudities, equally applied to Kings, or Tyrants: whereas in every cleere judgement, the right line had beene sufficient enough to discover the crooked; if the image of it could have proved credible to men.

Now for the severall branches, or discourses following; they are all Members of one, and the same imperfect body, so as I let them take their fortunes (like *Essayes*) onely to tempt, and stir up some more free Genius, to fashion the whole

whole frame into finer mould for the worlds use. The first limme of those Treatises (I mean that Fabrick of a superstitious Church) having by her masterfull ambition over Emperours, Kings, Princes, free States, and Councils, with her *Conclave* deceits, strengths, and unthankfulnesse, spread so far beyond my *Horizon*, as I at once gave over her, and all her derivatives to *Gamaliels* infallible censure; Leaving Lawes, Nobility, War, Peace, and the rest, (as glorious Trophies of our old Pope, the sin) to change, reforme, or become deformed, according as vanity, that limitless mother of these Idolatries, should either winne of the truth, or the truth of them.

Lastly, concerning the Tragedies themselves; they were in their first creation three; Whereof *Antonie* and *Cleopatra*, according to their irregular passions, in forsaking Empire to follow sensuality, were sacrificed to the fire. The executioner, the author himselfe. Not that he conceived it to be a contemptible younger brother to the rest: but left
while

while he seemed to looke over much upward, hee might stumble into the Astronomers pit. Many members in that creature (by the opinion of those few eyes, which saw it) having some childish wantonneſſe in them, apt enough to be construed, or strained to a personating of vices in the present Governors, and government.

From which cautious prospect, I bringing into my minde the ancient Poet's metamorphosing mans reasonable nature into the sensitive of beasts, or vegetative of plants; and knowing these all (in their true morall) to bee but images of the unequall ballance between humors, and times; nature, and place. And again in the practice of the world, seeing the like instance not poetically, but really fashioned in the Earle of *Essex* then falling; and ever till then worthily beloved, both of *Queen*, and people: This sudden descent of such greatneſſe, together with the quality of the Actors in every Scene, stir'd up the Authors second thoughts, to bee carefull (in his owne case) of leaving faire
weather

weather behind him. Hee having, in the Earles precipitate fortune, curiously observed: First, how long this Noblemans birth, worth, and favour had been flattered, tempted, and stung by a swarin of Sect-animals, whose property was to wound, and fly away: and so, by a continuall affliction, probably enforce great hearts to turne, and tossè for ease; and in those passive postures, perchance to tumble sometimes upon their Soveraignes Circles.

Into which pitfall of theirs, when they had once discerned this Earle to be fallen; straight, under the reverend stile of *Læsa Majestas*, all inferiour Ministers of Justice (they knew) would be justly let loose to work upon him. And accordingly, under the same cloud, his enemies took audacity to cast Libels abroad in his name against the State, made by themselves; set papers upon posts, to bring his innocent friends in question. His power, by the Jesuiticall craft of rumor, they made infinite; and his ambition more then equall to it. His Letters to private men were read
openly,

openly, by the piercing eyes of an Attornies Office, which warranteth the construction of every line in the worst sense against the writer.

My selfe, his Kinsman, and while I remained about the *Queen*, a kinde of *Remora*, staying the violent course of that fatall Ship, and these winde-watching Passengers (at least, as his enemies imagined) abruptly sent away to guard a figurative Fleet, in danger of nothing, but these *Prosopopeia's* of invisable rancor; and kept (as in a free Prison) at *Rochester*, till his head was off.

Before which sudden journey, casting mine eyes upon the catching Court ayres, which I was to part from; I discerned my Gracious Sovereigne to bee every way so invironed with these, not *Iupiter's*, but *Pluto's* thunder-workers; as it was impossible for Her to see any light, that might lead to grace, or mercy: but many encouraging Meteors of severity, as against an unthankfull favourite, and traiterous Subject; hee standing, by the Law of *England*, condemned for such.

So

So that let his heart bee (as in my conscience it was) free from this unnaturall crime, yet these *unreturning* steps seemed well worth the observing. Especially in the case of such a Favorite, as never put his Sovereigne to stand between her People, and his errors; but here, and abroad placed his body in the forefront, against all that either threatned, or assaulted Her.

And being no Admirall, nor yet a Creator of Admiralls, whereby feare, or hope might have kept those temporary *Neptunes* in a kinde of subjection to him; yet hee freely ventured himselfe in all Sea actions of his time. As if he would war the greatnesse of envy, place, and power, with the greatnesse of worth, and incomparable industry. Neverthelesse hee wanted not judgement to discern, that whether they went with him, or tarried behind, they must probably prove unequall yoke fellows in the one; or in the other passing curious, and carping judges over all his publike Actions.

Againe, this gallant young Earle,
created

created (as it seemes) for action, before he was Martiall, first as a private Gentleman, and after as a Lieutenant by Commission, went in the head of all our Land Troops, that marched in his time; and besides experience, still wan ground, even through competency, envy, and confused mixtures of equality or inequality, amongst the factious English, all inferiour to his owne active worth, and merit.

Lastly, he was so far from affecting the absolute power of *Henry* the thirds Favourites, I meane under a King to become equall at least with him, in creating and deposing Chancellors, Treasurers, and Secretaries of State, to raise a strong party for himselfe; as he left both place, and persons entire in their supreme jurisdictions, or Magistracies under his Sovereigne, as shee granted them. And though hee foresaw a necessary diminution of their peacefull predicaments by his carrying up the standard of *Mars* so high, and withall knew they (like wise men) must as certainly discern, that the rising of his,
or

or falling of their scales depended upon the prosperity, or unprosperity of his undertakings: yet (I say) that active heart of his freely chose to hazard himselfe upon their censures, without any other provisionall rampier against the envious, and suppressing crafts of that party, then his owne hope, and resolution to deserve well.

Neither did he (like the French Favorites of that time) serve his own humors or necessities, by selling seats of Justice, Nobility, or orders of honor, till they became *Colliers pour toute beste*, to the disparagement of creating power, and discouraging of the Subjects hope, or industry, in attaining to advancement, or profit: But suffered *England* to stand alone, in her ancient degrees of freedoms, and integrities, and so reserved that absolute power of Creation sacred in his Sovereigne, without any mercenary stain, or allay.

CAP.

*CAP. XV.*

NOw after this humble, and harm-
lesse desire of a meane subject,
expressed in qualifying a great
subjects errors, by the circumstance of
such instruments, as naturally (like
Bats) both flye, and prey in the darke;
Let the Reader pardon me, if I pre-
sume yet againe to multiply digression
upon digression, in honour of her, to
whom I owe my selfe, I meane *Queen
Elizabeth*: and in her name clearly to
avow, that though I lament the fall
of this great man in Israel, neverthe-
lesse the truth enforceth me to confesse,
that howsoever these kinds of high
justice may sometimes (like the utter-
most of the Law) fall heavy upon one
brave spirit; yet prove they mercy to
many by example: and therefore as
Legall, and Royall wisedomes, ought
to be honoured equally in all the differ-
ing Soveraignties through the world, of
one, few or many.

And

And if this *assumpf*it must be granted univerfally; then how much more in the cafe of fuch a Princeffe, as (even while ſhe was a ſubject) left patternes that might inſtruct all ſubjects, rather to undergoe the indignation of Sovereignes with the birthright of duty, then with the mutiny of over-ſenſible, and rebellious affections; which ever (like diſeaſed pulſes) beat faſter, or ſlower then they ſhould, to ſhew all to be infected about them? Whereas this Lady, in the like ſtraines, by an humble, and conſtant temper, had already with true obedience triumphed over the curious examinations of aſcending flattery, or deſcending Tyranny, even in the tenderneſſe of Princes ſucceſſions.

And to make this manifeſt to bee choice, and not chance: even when her ſtepmother miſfortune grew ripe for delivery, then was ſhe neither born crying, as children be: nor yet by the ſudden change from a priſon, to a Throne, came ſhe upon that Stage confuſedly barking after all that had

M 27-

offended:

offended: but like one borne to behold true light, instantly fixeth her thoughts upon larger notions then revenge, or favour. And in the infancy of her Raigne, calls for *Benefield* her hard-hearted Gaoler; bids him enjoy not a deserved, but free given peace under his narrow vine: with this assurance, that whensoever she desired to have prisoners over severely intreated, she would not forget to commit the custody of them to his charge.

Againe, for the next object, looking backward upon her sisters Raigne, she observes Religion to have been changed; Persecution, like an ill weed, suddenly grown up to the highest; The mercy of the infinite prescribed, by abridgment of time, and adding torments to the death of his creatures: salvation published in many more *Creeds* then she was taught to beleieve: A double Supremacy in one Kingdome; *Rome* become Emperour of the Clergy, and by bewitching the better halfe of man (I meane the foule) challenging both over Clergy, and Laity, the stile of
the

the *Great God: Rex Regum, Dominus Dominantium.*

This view brought forth in her a vow, like that of the holy Kings in the Old Testament; *viz.* that she would neither hope, nor seeke for rest in the mortall traffique of this world, till she had repaired the precipitate ruines of our *Saviours Militant Church*, through all her Dominions; and as she hoped, in the rest of the World, by her example. Upon which Princelike resolution, this *She-David* of ours ventured to undertake the great *Goliath* among the *Philistins* abroad, I mean *Spain* and the *Pope*; despiseth their multitudes, not of men, but of Hosts; scornfully rejecteth that Holy Fathers wind-blowne superstitions, and takes the (almost solitary) truth for her Leading-Star.

Yet tears she not the Lyons jaws in funder at once, but moderately begins with her own Changlings; gives the Bishops a proper motion, but bounded: the Nobility time to reforme themselves, with inward, and outward Councell; revives her Brothers Lawes
for

for establishing of the Churches doctrine, and discipline, but moderates their severity of proceeding; gives frailty, and sect, time to reforme at home: and in the mean season supplies the Prince of *Conde* with men, and money, as chief among the Protestants in *France*; gathers, and revives the scattered hosts of Israel at the worst: takes *New-Haven*, perchance with hope of redeeming *Callice*, to the end her axle-trees might once againe lie upon both shores, as her right did: refuseth marriage, reformes and redeemes Queen *Maries* vanities, who first glorying in the Spanish seed, publisheth that she was with childe, and instantly offers up that Royall supposed Issue of hers, together with the absolute Government of all her Natives to the mixt Tyranny of *Rome* and *Castile*.

In which endlesse path of servitude, the Nounne adjective nature of this superstitious Princeesse, proceeded yet a degree further; striving to confirme that double bondage of people, and Posterity, by Act of Parliament. Where
on

on the other side, the Spanish King, beholding these remisse homages of frailty, with the unthankfull, and insatiable eyes of ambition, apprehends these petty sacrifices, as fit strawes, sticks, or feathers, to be pull'd out of faint wings, for the building up, and adorning of a Conquerours nest. And under this Tyrannicall *Crisis*, takes freedom to exhaust her treasure to his owne ends, breakes our league with *France*, and in that breach shakes the sacred foundation of the rest, winnes St *Quintins*, while we lost *Callice*.

Contrary to all which thought-bound Councils of her sister *Maries*, Queen *Elizabeth* (as I said) not yet out of danger of her Romish subjects at home; threatned with their mighty faction, and party abroad; pester'd besides with want of money, and many binding Lawes of her sisters making: yet like a Palme, under all these burdens, she raiseth her selfe Prince-like: and upon notice of her Agents disgrace abroad, his servants being put into the Inquisition by the Spaniard; her Merchants
surprized

surprized in *America*, contrary to the league between *Charles* the fifth, and *Henry* the eighth; which gave free traffique: *In omnibus, & singulis Regnis, Dominiis, Insulis*, notwithstanding that Astronomicall, or rather biaced division of the world by the Popes lines, which (contrary to the nature of all lines) only keep latitude for the advantage of *Spain*: She (I say) upon these insolencies, receives the *Hollander*, and protects him from persecution of the Duke of *Alva*: settles these poore Refugees in *Norwich, Colchester, Sandwich, Maidstone*, and *South-Hampton*.

Yet againe, when this faith-distinguishing Duke appealed to her selfe: she binding her heart for better, or worse, to the words of her Contract; summons these afflicted strangers to depart. Their number was great, their time short, and yet their weather-beaten soules so sensible of long continued oppressions in their liberties, and consciences, as (by the opportunity of this Ostracisme) they in their passage surprized *Brill, Flushing*, and diverse other Towns, expulſing the Spaniards;

Spaniards; and by this brave example, taught, and proclaimed a way of freedom to all well affected Princes, and Provinces, that were oppressed.

Wherein it may please the Reader to observe, that *Henry* the third of *France*, being one in the same League, and belike upon change of heart, which ever brings forth new questions, demanding, whether *mutuall defence against all*, extended to the cause of Religion? was presently answered by her; that she both treated, and concluded in the same sense; and if it were required at her hands, would performe every branch of it to her uttermost. The *French King* hereupon makes war with the Protestants: *Monsieur* his brother secretly protects them by *Casimire*.

Againe about that time, at the request of the *Spanish King*, she guards his Navy into *Flanders*; where it being lost, and she requested by the same King to lend him her owne Ships, for recovery of the Maritime Townes fallen from him: this blessed *Lady* both denies this crafty request of a Conqueror, and withall providently

providently refuseth any of his ships to be harboured in her Ports. Yet in honour of her ancient League with the House of *Burgundy*, she publisheth the like inhibition to her beloved, and safe Neighbours the *Netherlands*. And instantly, with a strong judgment in balancing of forraigne Princes, perswades the King of *Spain* to make peace with the *Hollanders*, and on the other side dissuades those distressed *Hollanders* from joyning with *France*. As I conceive, thinking that Kingdome (manumised from us by time) might through the conjunction of the *Holland* shipping, and Mariners, with their disciplin'd Land-Armies of horse and foot, prove more dangerous enemies, either by way of invasion, or incursion (as I said once before) then that Kings glorious Standard, borne among his barbed horse, and light foot had hitherto done, either in our entised undertakings, or abandoned retraits.

Besides it is worthy of reverence in this *Queen*, that she never was afraid, or ashamed to averre the quarrell of Religion

ligion for a ground of her friends, or enemies.

And though in the charity of a Christian Prince, even in the danger of a growing faction at home, she was content to let devout conscience live quietly in her Realmes: yet when they began to practise disunion in the Church, as their Jesuited spirits naturally affect to doe: Then to shew that she was as well servant to God, as by him King over Peoples, she tyed the head of the sacrifice perchance a little closer to the hornes of the altar. And made those spirits which would not know the true God altogether, to have some kinde of sense, or smart of his Religious Lawes; howsoever they were dead, and sacrificed to the growing Supremacy of the Roman Miter, or conquering Scepter of *Spaine*; ordain'd (as she thought) by excess of playing fast or loose with God, and the world; in time, one to devour the other; ambitious and superstitious subtleties being an Abyffe, or Sea, where the stronger infallibly devours the weaker.

She makes a publique League, for
defence

defence of Religion, with the King of *Scots*, *Denmark*, and the Princes of *Germany*; perfwades a Marriage between *Scotland* and *Denmark*; exileth all Jefuites, and Seminary Priests by Act of Parliament; makes it felony to harbor any of them in *England*, or for the Englifh to fend any of theirs beyond the Seas, to be trained up among them.

Upon the losse of *Antuerpe*, ſhe reſolutely undertakes the protection of the Netherlanders, and to diſtract the Spaniard (as I ſaid before) ſends *Drake* to the *Weſt-Indies*, with 21 Ships, who ſurprifed *Domingo*, and *Cartagena*. And immediately after his returne, with ſpoile, and triumph (to prevent all poſſibility of Invaſion) ſhe ſets him to Sea againe, with Commiſſion to burne all Ships, Gallies, and Boats, along his Spaniſh Coaſts. Who, in the ſame Voyage, breaks through diuerſe of his Gallies in the Bay of *Cales*, appointed to withſtand him; takes, burnes, and drownes 100 Sayle laden with munition, and victuals. From thence in his way to *Capo St Vincent*, he ſurpriſeth three Forts:
burnes

burnes ships, filher-boats, and nets; and then making for the *Azores*, hee there takes a Carricke comming from the *East-Indies*.

The next yeare (as treading in his steps) *Cavendish* returns from his journey about the world, with the spoile of nineteen Ships, and of many small Towns in *America*.

This and such like providence did this miracle of Princes use in all her Wars, whereby her Wars maintained her wealth, and that wealth supplied her War. So as she came ever in state, when she demanded aid from her House of Commons. Neither did she fetch, or force presents from her Predecessors in those demands: but made her self a present to all Posterities, that the love of people to a loving Princess is not ever curiously ballanced, by the self-pittyng abilities of mankinde: but their spirits, hearts, and states being drawne up above their owne fraile selfnesse, the audit is taken after; and perchance summd up with a little smart to themselves, wherein they glory.

Neither

Neither did she, by any curious search after Evidence to enlarge her Prerogatives Royall, teach her subjects in Parliament, by the like self-affections, to make as curious inquisition among their Records, to colour any encroaching upon the sacred Circles of Monarchy: but left the rise or fall of these two ballances asleep, with those aspiring spirits, who (by advantage of state, or time taken) had been authors of many biaced motions: And in some confused Parliaments amongst the Barons Wars, even forced her Ancestors, with one breath, to proscribe and restore; to call out of the House of Commons, by Writ, to the upper House, during the Session: Wherein one mans sudden advancement proves envious to foure hundred of his equals; and from the same, not truly active, but rather passive vaine, to imprison and release unjudicially, sometime striving to master the multitude, by their Nobility, then again waving the Nobility with the multitude of people; both marks of diseafe, and no healthfull state in a Monarchy. All which she providently

providently forefaw, and avoided ; left, by the like insensible degrees of misleading passions, she might be constrained to descend, and labour the compassing of disorderly ends, by a Mechanicall kinde of Univerfity Canvaffe.

So that this blessed, and blessing *Lady*, with a calme minde, as well in quiet, as stirring times, studied how to keep her ancient under-earth buildings, upon their first well laid foundations. And if she found any stray'd, rather to reduce them back to their originall circuits, then suffer a step to be made over, or besides those time-authorized assemblies. And by this reservednesse, ever comming upon the stage a Commander, and no Petitioner, she preserv'd her state above the affronts of Nobility, or people ; and according to birthright, still became a soveraigne Judge over any dutifull, or encroaching petitions of Nobles, or Commons.

For this *Lady*, though not prophetically, yet like a provident Princeesse, in the series of things, and times, foresaw through the long lasting wisdom of
Government,

Government, a quintessence, howsoever abstracted out of Morall Philosophy, and humane Lawes, yet many degrees in use of mankind above them. She, I say, foresaw, that every excessse of passion exprest from the Monarch in Acts, or Councels of Estate, would infallibly stir up in the people the like cobwebs of a popular spinning, and therefore from these piercing grounds, she concluded, that a steady hand in the government of Sovereignty, would ever prove more prosperous, then any nimble or witty practise, crafty shifting, or Imperious forcing humors possibly could doe.

Againe in the latitudes which some moderne Princes allow to their Favorites, as supporters of Government, and middle wals between power, and the peoples envy; it seems this *Queen* reservedly kept entrenched within her native strengths, and Scepter.

For even in the height of *Effex* his credit with her, how far was she from permitting him (like a *Remus*) to leap over any wall of her new-built Anti-Rome;

Rome; or with a young, and unexperienced *genius* to shuffle Pulpits, Parliaments, Lawes, and other fundamentall establishments of her Kingdomes, into any glorious apparances of will, or power? It should seem foreseeing, that howsoever this unexpected racking of people might for a time, in some particulars, both please, and adde a glossy stick to enlarge the Eagles nest; yet that in the end all buildings above the truth, must necessarily have forced her two *Supremacies*, of state, and nature, to descend, and through irregularities acted in her name, either become a sanctuary between the world, and inferior persons errors; or (as playing an after-game with her subjects, for a subject) constraine her to change the tenure of commanding power, into a kind of unprincely mediation. And for what? Even vainly to intreat her people, that they would hope well of diverse confusions: howsoever they might seem heady, nay ignorant passions: and such as threatned no lesse, then a losse of native Liberties, descended upon her people,

people, by the same prescription of time and right, by which the Crowne had descended upon her selfe, and her Ancestors; with a probable consequence of many more sharp pointed Tyrannies over them and their freedoms, then their happily deceased Parents ever tasted or dream't of.

Besides, admit these flatterings, and threatnings of hope, or feare (which transcendent power is sometimes forced to worke by) could have drawne this excellent Princeesse, and her time-present subjects to make brasse an equally currant standard with gold, or silver, within her Sea-compas'd Dominions; yet abroad, where the freedome of other Soveraignties is bounded by Religion, Justice, and well-waigh'd commerce amongst Neighbor-Princes, she foresaw, the least thought of multiplying self-Prerogatives there, would instantly be discredited and reflected back to stir up discouragement in the softest hearts, of her most humble and dutifull subjects.

Therefore contrary to all these captived,

tived, and captiving apparances, this experienced Governesse of ours published to the world, by a constant *Series* in her actions, that she never was, nor ever would be overloaden with any such excesses in her Person, or defects in her Government, as might constrain her to support, or be supported by a Monopolous use of Favourites; as if she would make any greater then her selfe, to governe Tyrannically by them.

Nay more; so far off was she from any lukewarmnesse in Religion, as if a single testimony may have credit, that blessed *Queens* many and free discourses with my selfe, ingeniously bare record; that the unexpected conversion of *Henry* the Fourth fell fatally upon him, by the weakneses of his Predecessor *Henry* the Third, and the dissolute miscarriage of his Favourites. Who like Lapwings, with the shels of authority about their necks, were let loose to runne over all the branches of his Kingdome, misleading Governors, Nobility, and People from the steady, and mutuall rest of Lawes, Customes, and other ancient wis-

domes of government, into the wildernesses of ignorance, and violence of will. Amongst which defects, all fundamentall changes (especially of Religion) in Princes would be found (as she conceived) the true discipline of Atheisme amongst their Subjects; all sacrifices, obedience excepted, being but deare-bought knowledges of the Serpent, to expulse Kings, and People once againe out of Mediocrity, that reciprocall Paradise of mutuall humane duties. Prophetically concluding, that whosoever will sell God to purchase earth, by making that eternall unity of many shapes, must in the end make him of none: and so bee forced with losse, contempt and danger to traffique not for an heires place, but a younger brothers; in that Church, at whose wide gates he had (with shame enough) already turned in. And under conditions of a Servant, rather then of a Sonne, be constrained for his first step to set up the Jesuits faction, providently suppressed by himselfe before, and therein to shake the *Sorbonists*, faithfull supporters

porters in all times of Crowne-Soveraignty, against these slave-making conjunctions betweene the Spaniard, and his *Chaplain*. Nay, yet with a greater shew of ingratitude, his next step must be to suppress those humble soules, who had long supported him, whilest he was King of *Navarre*, against that murdering Holy water of Spanish *Rome*. Lastly, to shew that no power can rest upon a steep, hee must precipitately be forced to send Embassadors to *Rome* (with his Sword in his scabbard) servily begging mercy, and grace of such reconciled enemies, whose endlesse ends of spirituall, and temporall Supremacy (this Princeesse knew) would never forgive any heavenly Truth, or earthly power that should oppose their Combination. Finally she concluded that holy Church of *Rome* to be of such a *Bucephalus* nature, as no Monarch shall be ever able to bestride it, except onely the stirring *Alexanders* of time present, wherein the world is passing finely overshot in her own bow.

Wherefore to end, (as I began) with
the

the case of *Essex*, was not this excellent Princeſſe therein a witneſſe to her ſelfe, that ſhe never choſe, or cheriſhed Favourite, how worthy ſoever, to Monopolize over all the ſpirits, and buſineſſe of her Kingdome; or to imprifon the univerſall counſels of nature, and State, within the narrowneſſe of a young fraile mans luſtfull, or unexperienced affections? Not thinking any one, eſpecially a Subject, better able to doe all then her ſelfe. Where like a worthy head of a great body, ſhe left the Offices, and Officers of the Crowne free to governe in their owne Predicaments, according to her truſt. Reſerving appeales to her ſelfe, as a Sea-mark to warn all Creatures under her that ſhee had ſtill a creating, or defacing power inherent in her Crown and Perſon, above thoſe ſubalterne places by which ſhee did miniſter univerſall juſtice. And though her wiſdom was too deep to nurſe or ſuffer faction amongſt thoſe great Commanders, and diſtributers of Publique Rights: yet was ſhee as carefull not to permit any Ariſtocraticall cloud,

cloud, or pillar, to shew, or shadow forth any superstitious, or false lights between her and her people.



CAP. XVI.

A Gaine in her household affaires she kept the like equall hands balancing the sloth or sumptuousnesse of her great Stewards, and white staves, with the providence, and reservednesse of a Lord Treasurer, kept up the Tables for Servants, Sutors, and for honors sake in her owne house; not suffering publike places to be made particular farmes of private men, or the honor of her household to be carried into theirs: And withall, by the same reverend Auditor, shee watched over the nimble Spirits, selfe-seeking or large-handednesse of her active Secretaries; examining their Intelligence, money, Packets, Bills of transportation, Propositions of State, which they offer'd up by their places, together with Sutes of
other

other Nature, in her wisdom still severing the reall businesse from the specious but narrow selfnesse of inferior Officers.

Besides, all these were examined by reverend Magistrates, who having bin formerly issuers of her Majesties Treasure in the Secretaries places, did now worthily become Governours of her Finances, as best able to judge between the selfnesse of place, or person, and the reall necessities of her State, and Kingdome. A fine art of Government by well chosen Ministers successively to wall in her Exchequer from the vast expence of many things, especially upon Forraigne Ambassadors, which (she knew) could neither bring reverence, nor thankfulness to their Sovereigne.

Under which head of Forraigne, and Domestique Ambassadors, the answer wherewith that Majesticall Lady entertained the *Polacke*, expected a treating Ambassador, but proving (as she told him) a defying Herald, is never to be forgotten among Princes, as an instance how sensible they ought to be of indignity,

dignity, and how ready to put off such sudden affronts, without a prompting of Councillors; againe worthily memorable among her Subjects, as a demonstrative argument that she would still reserve *Moses* place entire to her selfe amongst all the distributions of *Iethro*.

And to go on with her Domestique affaires how provident was she, out of the like caution, and to the same end, that even hee who oversaw the rest, might have his owne greatnesse overseen, and limited too. Whereupon she forgot not to allay that vast power and jurisdiction of her Treasurers Office, with inferior Officers of her Finances, and perchance under an active Favourits eyes, kept her owne; Besides she watched and checked him in his marriage made with *Paulet* his Predecessor, reserved that mans accounts, and arrears as a rod over his Grandchilds alliance, qualified, and brought the fines of his many, and great Copyholds to easie rates, would never suffer any proposition to take hold of uniting the Dutchy of *Lancaster* to her Exchequer, what narrow reasons soever
were

were alleaged of sparing and cutting off the multiplicity of Officers, with their wages and ignorances or corruptions, all chargable, and cloudy paths, which the dealing with Princes moneys doth as naturally bring forth, as *Africa* doth Monsters. But like a provident Sovereigne, knowing that place in a Monarchy must help as well to traine up servants, as to reward, and encourage merit; she constantly (to that end) keeps that Chancellorship of the Dutchy entire, and will not make the rewarding part of her Kingdome lesse, to overload her Exchequer with any addition of instrumentall gaine amongst under Officers, into whose barns those harvests are inned for the most part.

Again with the same caution in all her doings she made merit precious, honour dainty, and her graces passing rare, keeping them (as the Venetians doe their curiously refined gold) to set an edge upon the industry of man, and yet (like branches of Creation) sparingly reserved within the circuit of her Throne, as inherent, and tender Prerogatives,
not

not fit to be left at randome in the power of ambitious Favourites, or low-looking Councillors, whose ends are feldome so large, or safe for the publique, as the native Princes Councils are, or ought to be.

For her Clergy with their Ecclesiasticall, or Civill jurisdictions, she fashioned the Arches, and Westminster Hall to take such care one to bound another, that they in limiting themselves, enlarged her Royalties, as the chiefe and equall foundations of both their greatnesse; she gave the superior places freely, lest by example she should teach them to commit symony with their inferiors, and so adde scandall in stead of reputation to Gods Word, whose allowed Messengers they affect to seem.

Her Parliaments she used, to supply her necessarily expended treasure, and withall, as Maps of orders, or disorders, through her whole Kingdome. In which reverend Body (as I said before) she studied not to make parties, or faction, advancing any present Royallist out of the
nether

nether House, to stir up envy upon her self amongst all the rest, and so publish the Crowne to use personall practises of hope, or feare, in these generall Councils of her Kingdome, but by forbearing art was never troubled with any artificiall brickwals from them; so as their need and fears concurring with her occasions, made their desires and counsels concur too, and out of those equall, and common grounds forced every man to beleeve his private fish-ponds could not be safe, whiles the publique state of the Kingdome stood in danger of present, or expectant extremities.

Her Councell-board (as an abridgment of all other jurisdictions) she held up in due honour, propounded not her great busineses of State to them with any prejudicate resolution, which once discovered, suppresseth the freedome both of spirit and judgment, but opens her selfe clearly, heares them with respect; observes number, and reason, in their voices, and makes a quintessence of all their concords, or discords within her selfe, from whence the resolutions
and

and directions came suddenly, and secretly forth for execution.

To be short, she kept awe stirring over all her Courts, and other employments, as her antidote against any farther necessity of punishments; In which arts of men, and Government, her nature, education, and long experience, had made her become excellent above both Sexes.

Again, for the Regiment of her Grandees at home, she did not suffer the Nobility to be servants one to another, neither did her Gentry weare their Liveries as in the Ages before; their number and wealth was moderate, and their spirits and powers counterpoised with her Majesty, from being Authors of any new Barons Wars, and yet reserved as brave halfe paces between a Throne and a people.

Her Yeomendry, a state under her Nobles, and above her Peasants (proper to England) she maintained in their abilities, and never gave them cause to suspect, she had any intent, with extraordinary Taxes out of the course of
Parliaments,

Parliaments, insensibly to impoverish & make Boors, or slaves of them, knowing that such a kind of champion countrey, would quickly stir up the Nobility it selfe, to become doubtfull of their owne fences, and by consequence in danger, not only of holding lives, lands, goods, and Liberties at their Soveraignes indefinite pleasure, but by suspence of those nursing, and protecting Parliaments, to have all other native birth-rights, *viz.* Pulpits, Lawes, Customes, Voyces of Appeale, Audits of Trade, humble, and reverent mention of Coronation-oaths; legall publishers, and maintainers of War, true Maps of Diseases, and cures through her Kingdome, with many other mutuall ciments of honour, and use, between Soveraigne, and subjects, like to be confounded, or at least metamorphosed into Prerogative Taxes, wherein the people neither have voyces, nor valuable returne. I say, this homeborne Princeesse of ours making her prospect over these wildernesses of will, and power, providently for her selfe, and happily for us, refused the broad branch
of

of *Pythagoras* Y, and chose that narrower, but safer medium of State-assemblies, concluding that these two Honourable Houses, were the only judicious, faithfull, and industrious Favorites of unincroaching Monarchs.

So that it appears she did not affect, nor yet would be drawne (like many of her ancient Neighbours the French Kings) to have her subjects give away their wealth after a new fashion, *viz.* without returne of Pardons, ease of grievances, or comfort of Lawes, lest her loving people might thereby dream of some secret intent to indennize their lives, wealth, and freedoms, into a ship of *Athens*, of which the name being old, and all riders, sleepers, and other Timbers new, they were to be shipped downe a streame of the like nature ever, and yet never the same. Besides not to be shipped into that ship as Mariners, Souldiers, Saylors, or Factors, but rather as slaves, or conquered Out-Laws, with great dishonour to the Legall, and Royall state of Monarchicall Government, as she conceived. From which
example

example of chaste power, we that live after this excellent Lady, may with great honour to her ashes resolve, that she would have been as averſe from bearing the envy of printing any new Lines of Taxe, Impoſitions, Proclamations, or Mandats (without Parliaments) upon her ancient coeleſtiall, or terreſtriall Globes, as her humble ſubjects poſſibly could be, or wiſh her to be.

Now if we ſhall examine the reaſon of her cutting between Lawes, Kings powers, and the Peoples freedome, by ſo even a thread, what can it be, but a long and happy deſcent within the pedegrees of active Princes, together with the moderating education of Kings children in thoſe times; or laſtly in a quinteſſence of abilities, gathered out of thoſe bleſſed, and bleſſing mixtures of Nature, Education, and Practice, which never faile to liſt up man above man, and keep him there, more then place or power ſhall by any other encroaching advantages ever be able to doe.

In which Map, as in a true perſpective

spective glasse, this provident Princeesse seeing both her owne part, and her peoples, so equally, nay advantagiously already divided, and disposed, shee thought it both wisdome, and justice to leave them ballanced, and distinguished as she found them; Concluding that the least change of *Parallels*, or *Meridian* Lines newly drawne upon any the ancient Globes of Monarchall Government in absence of Parliaments, would (like the service of God in an unknown Language) prove prophaned, or misunderstood; And consequently register such a Map of writing, and blotting; of irregular raising, and depressing; disadvantageous matching of things reall, and humours together, as must multiply Atheisme in humane duties, cast trouble upon her Estate for want of reverence at home, and provoke this heavy censure through all the world (*Spaine* only excepted) that she endeavoured the raising of an invisible Tyrant above the Monarch; and to that end had made this step over Lawes, and Customes into such a dangerous

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kind

kind of ignorant, and wandring confusion, as would quickly enforce mankinde, either to live like exhausted creatures, deprived of Sabbaths, or like barren earth without priviledge of any Jubile, which metamorphosing prospect (as she thought) would resemble *Circes* guests, transforme her people into divers shapes of beasts; wherein they must lose freedome, goods, fortune, language, and kinde, all at once.

An enchanted confusion imaged by the Poets, to warne Princes, that if they will easily be induced to use these racks of wit, and power indefinitely, and thereby force a free people into a despairing estate, they must even in the pride of their Governments, looke in some sort to be forced againe, either to sacrifice these *Empsons*, and *Dudleyes*, as the most popular act such Princes can doe, or else with the two edged sword of Tyranny, irregularly to climbe a degree yet higher then the truth, to maintaine these Caterpillars in eating, or offering up Religion, Lawes, &c. to the covetous, cruell, or wanton

wanton excesses of encroaching Tyranny, as though God had made all the world for one.

Nay more it pleased this provident Queen even curiously to foresee, what face her estate was like to carry, if these biased humours should continue anylong raigne over us, *viz.* contempt to be cast over the Majesty of the Crown, feare among the people, hate and envy against the reverend Magistrate, entisement of domestique spirits to mutiny, or forraigne to invade upon any occasion, the Court it selfe becomming a Farme, manured by drawing up, not the sweate, but even the browes of humble subjects; and lastly the Councell-boord, that glorious type of Civill Government, compelled to descend, and become Broker for money, executioner of extremity, better acquainted with the Merchant, or mechanicall scraping Revenues of sicke, and exhausted Kingdomes, then forraigne Treaties, equall ballances of Trade, true grounds of Manufactures, mysteries of Importation, and Exportation, differing strengths, and weakneses of Crownes,

o 2

alteration

alteration of Factions, or parties with advantage, danger of alliances made to the benefit of the stronger, the steady (though sometimes intermittent) undertakings of the Conqueror, with all things else that concerne *Magnalia Regni*, and so apt instruments, not reverently to shew Princes the truth, but rather self-loving creatures full of present and servile flatteries, even to the ruine of that Estate wherein they have and enjoy their honours.

Which confusion of place and things being cleerly imaged within her, perswaded this Lady to restrain the slavish Liberties of Transcendency, within Lawes, and Parliaments, as two unbatter'd Rampires against all overwrestings of power, or mutinies of people, and out of these grounds to conclude Prince-like, with her forefathers, that *superstructiones antiquæ nec facîle evertuntur, nec solæ ruunt*. In this axiome making manifest to the world, that Time-presents children, with their young, and unexperienced capacities, are much too narrow moulds, for any large branches of well-founded Monarchies

Monarchie to be altered, or new fashioned in, the new and old seldome matching well together, let the Ciment of seeming wisdom on either side appeare never so equall.

Now for the right use of these high pillars, if we shall descend to inferior functions, we there find her (like a working soule in a healthfull body) still all in all, and all in every part. For with the same restraining providence, she kept the Crowne from necessity to use Imperiall, and chargable Mandates upon her people, when she had most need of their service, contrary to the wisdom of all Government; Neither did she by mistaking, or misapplying instances (gathered out of the fatall conquests of her Ancestors) parallell her present need, and Levies with theirs, but wisely considered that the King, and the people were then equally possessors of both Realmes, and so in all impositions contributors to themselves at the first hand.

From which grounds, like a contented and a contenting Sovereigne, she acknowledged these differences to be reall, and
accordingly

accordingly by an equall audit taken from her itinerant Judges, with the Justices inhabiting in every County, after she was well informed of her subjects abilities, and her enemies threatnings, she then, by advice of her Privy Councell summon'd her Parliaments, demanded ayd, and was never refused; In returne of which loving and free gifts, she disposed those extraordinary helps to the repaying, and provisionall supplying of her Forts along the Coast, with offensive and defensive munitions, she stored her Office of the Ordnance as a royall Magazine to furnish the whole Kingdom in extremity, and when there were no wars, yet she kept it full, as an equall pledge of strength, and reputation, both abroad, and at home.

Lastly, this Princeesse being confident in these native Sea-walls of ours, fit to beare moving Bulwarkes in martial times, and in Civill Traffiques to carry out, and in, all Commodities with advantage; she double stored her Navy Magazines with all materials, provided before-hand for such workes, and things,
as

as required time, and could not be bought with money; besides, she furnished her Sea Arfinals with all kind of staple provisions, as Ordnance, Pitch, Rosin, Tar, Mafts, Deale boards, Cordage, &c. for the building, and maintaining of her Navie, flourishing in multitude of Ships for War and Trade.

And as the life of that vast body, she for encrease of Mariners, gave Princely countenance to all long voyages, knowing they would necessarily require Ordnance, men, munition, and burthen; and further to encourage this long-breathed worke, she added out of her Exchequer an allowance of so much in the tun for the builders of any ships upward of so many hundred Tuns; She cherished the fisher-boats with priviledges along her Coasts, as nurseries of Sea-men; brought *Groniland*, and *Newfound-land* fishing in reputation to encrease her stock of Mariners, both by taking, and transporting what they took far off.

And for the Governours of her Navy under the Admirall, as well in times of peace as war, she chose her principall
Officers

Officers out of the gallanteſt Sea Commanders of that time, whoſe experience he knew taught them how to husband and guide her *Muſcovy* Company in generall Proviſions, not as partner with her Merchants in building, but reſtraining the Ship-keepers riot, or expence in harbour, and at Sea, how to furniſh, or martiall ſhips, and Mariners in all kind of Sea-fights to their beſt advantage.

Befides, through the ſame mens judgments, ſhe made all directions paſs for the divers moulds required in ſhipping betweene our Seas, and the Ocean, as the drawth of water, high, or low, diſpoſing of ports, cleanly roomes for Victuals, convenience of Deckes for Fight, or Trade, ſafe conveyance for Powder, & all other munition, fit Stowage of Sea ſtores, according to the difference of heats, or colds in the Climes they were to reſide in, or paſſe through.

Againe, as well to inſtruct the Captaines in their particular duties, as to keep a hand of Government over the large truſt, and charge committed to them,

them, in all expeditions, the Ship with her furniture, tackling, and men, the Gunners Roome with all munition of that kind, the Boat-swains provision of Anchors, Cables, Canvas, and Sea-stores, the Purfers, Stewards, and Cooks Roomes touching victuals were delivered to the Captaines by Bill indented; the one part kept with the Officers of the Navy at home, the other in the hands of every private Captaine to examine his accounts by when he return'd: of which my selfe am witnesse, as being well acquainted with the use of it in my youth, but utterly unacquainted with the change since, or any reasons of it.

Lastly, this great Governesse could tell how to worke her high Admirals (without noyse) to resign their Patents, when the course of times made them in power, and gaine, seeme, or grow too exorbitant; yet kept she up their Command at Sea, and when they were there made them a limited, or absolute Commission under the great Seale of *England*, sometimes affociating, and qualifying their place, with a Councell
of

of war of her own choice, and ever guiding the generalities of the Voyage with instructions proper to the business, and to be published at Sea in a time prefixed.

Out of which caution in her principall expeditions, she striving (as I said) to allay that vast power of place with some insensible Counterpoise, many times joyned an active Favourite with that Sea *Neptune* of hers, making credit, place, and merit, finely competitors in her service; Besides, she well understanding the humours of both, temper'd them so equally one with another in her latter expeditions, as the Admirall being remisse, and apt to forgive all things, *Effex* severely true to Martiall Discipline, and loath to wound it by forgiving petty errours under that implacable Tyrant *Mars*, in all likelihood her Fleet could hardly be over failed, or under ballasted, and consequently the Crowne (in her absence) was sure to be guarded with more eyes than two, to prevent confusion in Martiall Affaires, where every Ship proves beyond the amendment

amendment of second thoughts, and so fatall to that state which paies, and negligently ventures.

The Merchant-part of her Kingdome was oppressed with few impositions, the Companies free to choose their owne Officers, to fashion their Trade, assisted with the name and countenance of her Embassadors, the custome, and returne of their industry, and adventures, contenting them in a free Market without any nearer cutting of peoples industry to the quick.

The *Flusbingers*, and *Dunkerkers* in succession of time, it is true, did much afflict their Traffique, though with smal strength; whereupon she first travelled to suppress them by force, but found the Charge grow infinite, and the cure so casuall, as she joyned Treaty with the Sword, and set her Seas by that providence, and industry, once againe at liberty from all molestation, or danger of Pyrates.

Her Universities were troubled with few *Mandates*, the *Colledges* free in all their Elections, and governed by their own

own Statutes, the grosse neglect of using the Latine Tongue she studied to reforme, as well for honour of the Universities, as for her own service in all Treaties with Forraign Princes, she studied to multiply her *Civilians* with little charge, and yet better allowance to their Profession.

In a word, she preserved her Religion without waving, kept both her Martiall, and Civill Government intire above neglect, or practice, by which, with a multitude of like instances, she manifested to the World, that the well governing of a Princes own Inheritances, is (in the cleare house of Fame) superiour to all the far noised conquests of her over-gripping Ancestors, since what Man lives, conversant in the *Calenders* of estates, but must know, that had not these wind-blown conquests of ours happily been scattered, they must in time have turned the moderate wealth, and degrees of *England* into the nasty poverty of the French peafants; brought home Mandates instead of Lawes, waved our freedoms in Parliaments with new christned

christned Impositions, and in the end have subjected native and active *Albion* to become a Province, and so inferior to her owne dearly bought forraign conquests, being forced to yeeld up the superlative works of power, to the equall Laws of Nature, which almost every where (*America* excepted) proclames the greater to be naturally a Law-giver over the lesse.



CAP. XVII.

YEt as this wise and moderate Governesse was far from incroaching upon any other Princes Dominions, so wanted she neither foresight, courage nor might, both to suppress all insolencies attempted against her selfe, and to support her Neighbours unjustly oppressed, whereof by the Readers patience I will here adde some few instances.

She had no sooner perfected her Virgin-triumph over that sanctified,
and

and invincible Navy, and by that losse published the Spanish ambition, weaknesse, and malice to all Christendome, secured her owne estate, revived the Netherlands, confuted the Pope, turned the caution of the Italian Princes the right way, and amazed the world; but even then to pursue that victory, and prevent her enemies ambition, which still threatned the world with new Fleets; then (I say) did this active Lady conclude, with advise of her Councell, and applause of her Kingdome, to defend her selfe thenceforth by invading, and no more attend the Conquerors pleasure at her owne doores.

Out of which resolution she first sent forth the Earle of *Cumberland*, who attempted the surprize of *Porto Ricco*, accomplished it with honour, and so might have kept it, had not disease, and disorder proved more dangerous enemies to him, then the great name, and small force of the Spanish did.

Againe to prevent danger, not in the bud, but root, she tooke upon her the protection of *Don Antonio* King of *Portugal*,
gall,

gall, sent Sir *Iohn Norris*, and Sir *Francis Drake*, with a Royall Fleet, and eleven thousand men to land, seconded with the fortune, and countenance of the Earle of *Essex*; they tooke the bafe Towne of the Groyne, and when they had overthrowne all that came to succour it, and burnt the Countrey, then marched they on to *Lisbone*, and in that journey sacked *Peniche*, wasted Villages, and Provinces, entred the suburbs of *Lisbone* even to the gates of the High Towne, and burnt three-score Spanish hulkes full of provisions.

And to the same end, she did, and still meant successively to maintaine a Fleet of her owne Ships, and her fast friends the Netherlands upon his Coasts, not only to disturbe the returne of victuals, munition, and materials for War, with which the Empire, Poland, and the Hanse Townes did usually, and fatally (even to themselves) furnish this growing Monarch, but withall to keep his Navy which was riding, and building in many havens, from possibility of getting head in any one place to annoy
her;

her; and thirdly to set such a Taxe upon the wafting home of his Indian Fleets, as might (in some measure) qualifie that fearfull abundance which else was like enough to spread infection through the soundest Councils, and Councillors of all his Neighbour-Princes.

In the meane time, the French King *Henry* the third (heartned by her example, and successe) did encounter the *Guisards*, a strong Faction depending upon *Spaine*. And when he was made away by treason, & the Leaguers in Armes under the Spaniards protection, then did the Queen providently take opportunity to change the Seat of her Warres, and assisted *Henry* the fourth, the succeeding King, by the Earle of *Essex*, untill he was able to subsist by himselfe, and till, by her support he was strengthened, both to overthrow the League, and become a second ballance against the great, and vast desires of *Spain*.

Neither did she rest here, or give him breath, but with a Fleet of one hundred and fifty Sayle, and a strong Land-army, sent

sent the Earl of *Effex*, and the Admirall of *England* to invade *Spaine* it selfe, they tooke *Cales*, spoiled his Fleet of twenty Gallies, and fifty nine Ships, the riches whereof were valued at twelve millions of Duckets. Immediately after, imployed he not the Earle of *Effex* with a Fleet to the Islands? In which Voyage he sacked *Villa Franca*, and tooke prizes to the value of foure hundred thousand Duckets at the least.

Now when this Spanish Invader found him selfe thus well paid with his owne coyne, and so forced to divert the provoked hand of that famous Queen held over him, by stirring up *Tirone* in *Ireland*; to which end he sent money, and Forces under *Don Iohn d' Aquila*, even then that Lady, first by *Effex*, and after by *Montjoy*, overthrew the Irish, and sent home the Spaniard well recompenced with losse, and dishonour for assisting her Rebels.

By which and the like active courtes of hers in successive, and successfull undertakings, that provident Lady both bore out the charge of all those expeditions,

tions, requited his Invasion, clipped the fearfull wings of this growing Monarch, and made his credit swell through all the mony-banks of Europe, causing with-all as low an Ebbe of his treasure.

Againe by this imprifoning of the Lyon within his owne den, she did not only lessen his reputation (a chiefe strength of growing Monarchs) but discovered such a light as perchance might have forced him in time, to dispute the Titles of his Ufurpations at home, and have given *Portugall*, *Arragon*, and *Granada* opportunity to plead their rights with *Castile* in the Courts of *Mars*, if God had either lengthened the dayes of that worthy Lady who understood him, or time not neglected her wisdome so suddenly, by exchanging that active, victorious, enriching, and ballancing course of her defensive Wars, for an idle (I feare) deceiving shadow of peace. In which whether we already languish, or live impoverished, whilst he growes potent, and rich, by the fatall security of all Christendome, they that shall succeed us, are like to feele, and judge freely.

Thus

Thus you see how our famous *Iudith* disperfed the terrour of this *Holofernes*, like a cloud full of wind, and by a Princely wakefulneffe, preferved all thofe Sovereigne States that were in league with her, from the dangerous temptations of power, wealth, and practice, by which the growing Monarchs doe often intangle the inferior, but yet Sovereigne Princes. And amongst the reft, from that usuall traffique of his Leiger Embaffadors, who trained up in the nimble exchange of Intelligence, grow to be of fuch a *Bucephalus* nature, fo like *Rome*, as I faid before, a body of fuch members, as the *Alexanders* of their time can only mannage, and make ufe of; Instance *Mendofa*, in whom ſhe had long before difcovered, and difcredited all practifes of thofe ſpecious imployments of Conquerers Agents.

Befides in honour of her be it ſpoken, did not this mirrour of Juſtice, by reſtraining that unnaturall ambition of getting other Princes rights, within the naturall bounds of well-governing her owne, become a beame of fuch credit,

as most of the Kings, or States then reigning, freely yeelded; both to weigh their owne interests within the scales of her judgment, and besides to assist her in bounding out the Imperiall Meeres of all Princes by the ancient procession of Right, and power.

Lastly, did she not purchase the like reputation even amongst the heathen, and by it destroy'd a nest, which this aspiring Monarch began to build in the Seraglio of *Constantinople*; For she thinking it no wisdom to look on, and see his Spanish pistols pierce into so high a mountaine of Forces, and dispose of them at his pleasure, providently opened the stronger Monarchs eyes to discover how craftily the weaker wrought his ends at the cost of all defective, or sleepy Princes about her.

Yet did not this Sovereigne Lady intercept his designs from under any Goddesse shield (whom *Homer* makes the Grecian Worthies shoot, and hit) but displanted him by a gallant Factor of her Merchants in a league of Traffique, and prevailed to make his Embassador
landed

landed at *Ragusa*, housed in *Constantinople*, and all under protection of *Ferrat* chiefe Visier, yet, and upon a contract of thirty thousand zecchins already paid him, glad to returne, and shippe himselfe away, with more expedition then he landed.

Besides which reputation given to her name by the Grand Signior in this particular, she generally got power to keep this fearfull Standard of the halfe Moon waving in such manner over all the King of Spaines designes, as he durst move no where against his Neighbour-Christian-Princes, for feare of being incompassed within the horns of the heathen Crescent.

But these things swell, and require a more authentickall History, to continue the memory of that wonder of Queens, and women ; in honour of whose sacred name, I have presumed thus to digresse, and admonish all Estates by her example, how they may draw use, and honour, both from the dead, and the living, the change of times having no power over reall wisedomes, but infinite over the shadowes

shadowes of craft, and humours of petty States, which commonly follow the greater Bodies, as they are unequally extended, or contracted about them.

Wherefore now to conclude these Heroicall Enterprises abroad, together with the reformations of her State at home, the refining of the English Standard embased by her sister, the preservation of her Crown-Revenue intire, her wisdom in the change of Lawes, without change of dangers, the timely and Princely help she gave to *Henry* the fourth when he had nothing but the Towne of *Diepe* left him, his credit, and meanes being utterly exhausted, and so that brave King ready, either to take Sea, and escape, or flye for succour into *England*, her constant establishment of Religion in *Ireland*, driving the Spanish Forces divers times from thence, who were maliciously sent as well to stirre up her subjects to rebell as to maintaine, and support them in it, together with the former recited particulars, howsoever improperly dispersed, or bundled up together, yet are in their natures of so
rare

rare a wisdom, as I beleeeve they will still be more and more admired, and justly, in that excellent Princeesse, even many Ages after her death.

Thus have I by the Readers patience, given that Ægyptian, and Roman Tragedy a much more honourable sepulture, then it could ever have deserved, especially in making their memories to attend upon my Soveraignes herse, without any other hope of being, then to wait upon her life, and death, as their Maker did, who hath ever since been dying to all those glories of Life which he formerly enjoyed, under the blessed, and blessing presence of this unmatched Queen and woman.

Now if any man shall demand why I did not rather leave unto the world a complete history of her Life, then this short memoriall in such scatter'd, and undigested minutes, let him receive this answer from a dead man, because I am confident no flesh breathing (by seeing what is done) shall have occasion of asking that question, whilest I am living. Presently after the death of
my

my most gracious Queen, and Mistresse, the false spirits, and apparitions of idle griefe haunted me exceedingly, and made all things seeme either greater, or lesse then they were; so that the farther I went, the more discomfortable I found those new resolutions of time, to my decayed, and disproportioned abilities; yet fearing to be cursed with the Figg-tree, if I bore no fruit, I rouzed up my thoughts upon an ancient axiome of Wise men; *Si quicquid offendit, relinquimus citò; inertì otio torpebit vita*; and upon a second review of the world, called to mind the many duties I ought to that matchlesse Sovereigne of mine, with a resolution to write her life in this manner.

First, curiously to have begun with the uniting of the Red, and White Roses, in the marriage of *Hen*: the seventh; In the like manner to have run over *Henry* the eighths time, untill his severall rents in the Church, with a purpose to have demurr'd more seriously upon the sudden change in his Sonne *Edward* the sixth, from superstition

tion to the establishment of Gods Ancient, Catholique, and Primitive Church; those cobwebs of re-conversion in *Queen Maryes* dayes, I had no intent to meddle with, but only by pre-occupation to shew, that Princes captived in Nature, can seldome keep any thing free in their Governments, but as soyles manured to bring forth ill weeds apace, must live to see Schisme arise in the Church, wearing out the reall branches of immortall truth, to weave in the thin leaves of mortall superstition, and to behold in the State all their fairest industries spring, and fade together, like Ferne-seed; Lastly, I intended with such spirits, as Age had left me, to revive my self in her memory, under whom I was bred.

Now in this course, because I knew, that as the liberality of Kings did help to cover many errours, so truth in a story would make good many other defects in the writer, I adventured to move the Secretary, that I might have his favour to peruse all obsolete Records of the Councell-chest, from those times downe as near to these, as he in
his

his wisdom should think fit ; hee first friendly required my end in it, which I as freely delivered him, as I have now done to you.

Against her memory he, of all men, had no reason to keep a strict hand, and where to bestow a Queen *Elizabeths* servant with lesse disadvantage to himselfe it seems readily appeared not ; so that my abrupt motion tooke hold of his present Counsell. For he liberally granted my request, and appointed me that day three weeks to come for his warrant, which I did, and then found in shew a more familiar, and gracefull aspect then before, he descending to question me, why I would dreame out my time in writing a story, being as like to rise in this time as any man he knew ; Then in a more serious, and friendly manner examining me, how I could cleerly deliver many things done in that time, which might perchance be construed to the prejudice of this.

I shortly made answer, that I conceivd an Historian was bound to tell nothing but the truth, but to tell all truths
were

were both justly to wrong, and offend not only Princes, and States, but to blemish, and stir up against himselfe, the frailty and tenderesse, not only of particular men, but of many Families, with the spirit of an *Athenian Timon*; And therefore shewed my selfe so far from being discouraged with that objection, as I took upon me freely to adventure all my own goods in this Ship, which was to be of my owne building. Immediately this Noble Secretary, as it seems, moved, but not removed with those selfenesses of my opinion, seriously assured me, that upon second thoughts he durst not presume to let the Councell-chest lie open to any man living, without his Majesties knowledge and approbation.

With this supersedeas I humbly took my leave, at the first sight assuring my selfe this last project of his would necessarily require sheet after sheet to be viewed, which I had no confidence in my own powers to abide the hazard of; and herein it may please the Reader to beleieve me the rather by these Pamphlets,

Pamphlets, which having slept out my own time, if they happen to be seene hereafter, shall at their own perill rise upon the stage, when I am not ; Besides, in the same proposition I further saw, that the many Judgements, which those *Embryoes* of mine must probably have past through, would have brought forth such a world of alterations, as in the end the worke it selfe would have proved a story of other mens writing, with my name only to put to it, and so a worship of time, not a voluntary homage of duty.

Farther I cannot justifie these little sparkes, unworthy of her, and unfit for me ; so that I must conclude with this ingenuous *Confession*, that it grieves me to know I shall (as far as this abrupt Apology extends) live, and dye upon equall tearmes with a Queene, and Creature so many waies unequall, nay, infinitely superiour to me, both in Nature, and Fortune.

CAP.

*CAP. XVIII.*

NOW to return to the Tragedies remaining, my purpose in them was, not (with the Ancient) to exemplifie the disastrous miseries of mans life, where Order, Lawes, Doctrine, and Authority are unable to protect Innocency from the exorbitant wickednesse of power, and so out of that melancholike Vision, stir horror, or murmur against Divine Providence: nor yet (with the Moderne) to point out Gods revenging aspect upon every particular sin, to the despaire, or confusion of mortality; but rather to trace out the high waies of ambitious Governours, and to shew in the practice, that the more audacity, advantage, and good successe such Soveraignties have, the more they hasten to their owne desolation and ruine.

So that to this abstract end, finding all little instruments in discovery of
great

great bodies to be feldome without errors, I prefumed, or it rather efaped me, to make my Images beyond the ordinary ftature of exceffe, wherein again that women are predominant, is not for malice, or ill talent to their Sexe; But as Poets figured the vertues to be women, and all Nations call them by Feminine names, fo have I described malice, craft, and fuch like vices in the perfons of Shrews, to fhew that many of them are of that nature, even as we are, I meane ftrong in weakneffe; and confequently in thefe Orbes of Paffion, the weaker Sexe commonly the moft predominant; yet as I have not made all women good with *Euripides*, fo have I not made them all evill with *Sophocles*, but mixt of fuch forts as we find both them, and our felves.

Againe, for the Arguments of thefe Tragedies they be not naked, and cafuall, like the Greeke, and Latine, nor (I confeffe) contrived with the variety, and unexpected encounters of the Italians, but nearer Level'd to thofe humours, counfels, and practices, wherein I thought
fitter

fitter to hold the attention of the Reader, than in the strangeness, or perplexedness of witty Fictions; In which the affections, or imagination, may perchance find exercise, and entertainment, but the memory and judgement no enriching at all; Besides, I conceived these delicate Images to be over-abundantly furnished in all Languages already.

And though my Noble Friend had that dexterity, even with the dashes of his pen to make the *Arcadian* Antiques beautifie the Margents of his works; yet the honour which (I beare him record) he never affected, I leave unto him, with this addition, that his end in them was not vanishing pleasure alone, but morall Images, and Examples, (as directing threds) to guide every man through the confused *Labyrinth* of his own desires, and life: So that howsoever I liked them too well (even in that unperfected shape they were) to condescend that such delicate (though inferior) Pictures of himselfe, should be suppressed; yet I do wish that work may be the last in this kind, presuming no
man

man that followes can ever reach, much leſſe go beyond that excellent intended patterne of his.

For my own part, I found my creeping Genius more fixed upon the Images of Life, than the Images of Wit, and therefore choſe not to write to them on whoſe foot the black Oxe had not already trod, as the Proverbe is, but to thoſe only, that are weather-beaten in the Sea of this World, ſuch as having loſt the ſight of their Gardens, and groves, ſtudy to ſaile on a right courſe among Rocks, and quick-ſands; And if in thus ordaining, and ordering matter, and forme together for the uſe of life, I have made thoſe Tragedies, no Plaies for the Stage, be it known, it was no part of my purpoſe to write for them, againſt whom ſo many good, and great ſpirits have already written.

But he that will behold theſe Acts upon their true Stage, let him look on that Stage wherein himſelf is an Actor, even the ſtate he lives in, and for every part he may perchance find a Player, and for every Line (it may be) an
instance

instance of life, beyond the Authors intention, or application, the vices of former Ages being so like to these of this Age, as it will be easie to find out some affinity, or resemblance between them, which whosoever readeth with this apprehension, will not perchance thinke the Scenes too large, at least the matter not to be exceeded in account of words.

Lastly, for the Stile; as it is rich, or poore, according to the estate, and ability of the Writer, so the value of it shall be enhanced, or cried downe, according to the grace, and the capacity of the Reader, from which common Fortune of Bookes, I look for no exemption.

But to conclude, as I began this worke to entertaine, and instruct my selfe, so if any other find entertainment, or profit by it, let him use it freely, judge honourably of my friend, and moderately of me, which is all the returne that out of this barren Stock can be desired, or expected.

FINIS.

NOTES

Title. The full title was doubtless supplied by the Editor of 1652. In M the heading is merely 'A Dedication to S^r Philip Sidney'.

Epistle Dedicatory. The Countess of Sunderland was Lady Dorothea Sidney, sister of Algernon Sidney, and the Sacharissa of Waller's poems.

l. 3. well-limb'd = well-limn'd: this spelling occurs occasionally in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century books.

PAGE 2, l. 7 from bot. *Characteristicall*, i.e. (as explained in the following sentence) describing characteristics; in later language 'moral' or 'ethical'.

l. 2 from bot. P misprints 'unfeigned' for 'in feigned'.

5, l. 4. as it were even racked with native strengths] M reads 'ranked', which reading Grosart attributes to P. For 'native strengths' cp. p. 176, l. 5 from bot. The phrase means that her natural qualities of character were, so to speak, too strong for her body—a fanciful way of accounting for her disfigurement by the small-pox.

par. 2, l. 3. ingenious] P sometimes, M usually, writes 'ingenious' where we should now write 'ingenuous'.

6, l. 1. acme M: aim P.

7, l. 6. After 'Arcadia' M inserts 'a Frenchman borne'.

7, l. 13. M reads 'got him light enough'. Languet was born at Viteaux in Burgundy in 1518, took the degree of Doctor of Laws at Padua, became a friend of Melanchthon and a convert to the Reformation, was employed as a diplomatist, especially by Augustus, Elector of Saxony, and died in 1581. The Wechel mentioned in this connexion was Andrew, son of the famous Paris printer, Christopher Wechel. At the time of the massacre of St. Bartholomew Languet was lodging with Wechel in Paris, and managed to protect him as well as de Mornay, the friend of Henry of Navarre. Wechel moved the next year to Frankfort, where his press became as famous as his father's had been at Paris.

9, l. 5. hache (i. c. hatch) M · hath P.

l. 15. be P : lye M. These letters were first published, long after Greville wrote this passage, in 1632.

l. 18. *salves* means both 'greetings' and (as opposed to 'real and large complexions') 'made-up complexions', 'patches', a not uncommon use in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Cp. Bishop Hall (1608), *Char. Virtues and V.* 11. 117, 'He hath salves for every sore . . . complexion for every face.' Hall here uses 'complexion' in the sense of artificial colouring. Greville uses it primarily in the old meaning of 'temperament', 'disposition', but with an eye to its modern meaning, which was only beginning in the seventeenth century to oust the old one. See *N.E.D.* I think Greville is playing on both the words 'complexions' and 'salves'; he is fond of this sarcastic kind of pun.

10, l. 9. Grosart reports both M and P as reading

ing 'omniuous', which he apparently takes as a genuine variant for 'ominous'. Only P reads 'omniuous', evidently a misprint.

10, par. 2, l. 9. chance M: change P. Below, p. 13, par. 2, l. 1, M is in error, reading 'changeable' for 'chanceable'.

11, par. 2, l. 4. his M: this P.

l. 6. Romanties P: Romantiae M.

l. 7. foure-eyd P: a misprint for 'soure-eyd': sower-eyed M.

l. 12. wonder M: wander P.

12, l. 2. Grosart notes wrongly 'P, puts comma after faith instead of after second-hand'. The fact is that M has comma after 'second-hand' and after 'faith'. P reads as in the text.

13, l. 7. M omits 'home-born'.

16, l. 12. smilings M: smiling P.

17, l. 3. this P: his M, perhaps rightly.

l. 4 from bot. ingenuous P: ingenious M, but meaning the same thing, i. e. worthy of a free-born man.

l. 2 from bot. treits M: tracts P.

18, l. 8. P has a semicolon after 'himself', which obscures the sense more even than the many superfluous commas of that age.

par. 2, l. 2. commanding M: commending P.

l. 4 from bot. P omits 'looke'. sunn M: same P. Grosart prints 'same', which makes no sense, without noticing the correct reading of M.

19, l. 4 from bot. M inserts 'I say' after 'seemes'.

20, l. 8. I insert a comma after 'reservedness', to make the sense clear at first sight.

l. 9. Grosart omits 'with' without comment, presumably by accident; the word is in M and P.

20, l. 2

20, l. 2 from bot. P. has, by misprint, 'deservedness.'

21, end of par. 1. I have removed the comma after the first 'Prince', finding by experience that the sense was easily missed. A modern writer would probably write 'no-Prince'.

23, l. 9. to M: by P, Grosart, who does not notice M's reading.

24, l. 15. an Agent] This was William Harborne, who, after visiting Turkey in 1577 and procuring an offer of friendship from the Grand Signior, was appointed the first Envoy or Agent of Elizabeth at Constantinople in 1582. Accounts of his journeys to and from Turkey are given in Hakluyt's Collection. This sentence is characteristically involved. 'Into whose' is governed by 'infusing': 'charge,' as elsewhere, = 'expenditure of money or labour'.

25, l. 3 from bot. *Fess*=*Fez*.

27, par. 2, l. 2. Grosart prints 'comandments', not observing the sign of abbreviation.

l. 2 from bot. M reads 'did not, or could not value it so high'.

28, l. 7. P has the catchword 'in-' at the bottom of p. 32, but accidentally omits 'interest' at the top of p. 33.

29, l. 6. ever P: ouer M.

par. 2, l. 4. M omits 'own'.

par. 2, l. 9. over P: upon M.

bot. M omits 'record'.

30, par. 2, l. 2. M omits 'gladly'.

32, l. 4. M punctuates 'as by descent, to a youth; of grace, as to a stranger',—which keeps the meaning clear. Grosart punctuates 'as by descent, to a youth of grace as to a stranger',—
which

which makes no sense. The meaning is that Don John of Austria showed Sidney condescension as to a youth, grace as to a stranger, and especial punctiliousness in the interchange of courtesies as to an enemy.

32, l. 9. M misreads 'his' for 'this'. This mistake, which Grosart notices, might have made him pause in his earlier preferences of M's 'his' to P's 'this'. It is evident that the archetype from which both M and P are derived wrote 'his' and 'this' very much alike. On the whole perhaps M is more often right than P in this word.

par. 2, l. 5. against P: amongst M, Grosart.

33, par. 2, l. 11. Maecenas M: Mecaenas P, Grosart.

34, par. 2, l. 7. humorous=wayward.

par. 2, l. 9. reverend=reverent. M inserts 'kinde of' between 'reverend' and 'ambition'.

37, l. 12. his M: this P.

14 foll. One of Greville's obscurer passages. I think it may be paraphrased thus:—'Experience has shown that it has been the usual habit or "school" of greatness to be tender of itself only, making honour a triumph, or rather trophy of desire, set up in the eyes of mankind, to the end that great men either are worshipped as idols, or, as rebels against constituted authority, perish under the compulsion to follow glory which she (Greatness) lays upon them.' That is, Greatness is a selfish tyrant over its victims, great men. The great man worshipped as an idol, and the great man falling as a rebel, were objects always striking, but more familiar to England of Tudor times than at later periods. For the language we may compare the *Inquisition upon Fame and Honour*, e. g. stanza 71:—

Lastly,

Lastly, this fame hard gotten, worse to keep,
 Is never lost but with despaire and shame;
 Which makes man's nature, once fallen from
 this steepe,
 Disdaine their being should out-last their name:
 Some in selfe-pitty, some in exile languish,
 Others rebell, some kill themselves in anguish—

and stanza 86:—

Who worship Fame, commit idolatry,
 Make men their God, Fortune and Time their
 worth;
 Forme but reforme not—meer hypocrisie!—
 By shadowes, onely shadowes bringing forth,
 Which must, as blossomes, fade ere true fruit
 springs;
 —Like voice and eccho—joyn'd yet divers
 things.

39, l. 7. This rather oddly expressed description of Lysander refers to the fact, emphasized by Plutarch, that Lysander was himself superior to the temptation of avarice, but that he corrupted the Spartans by introducing so much gold and silver as the spoils of his conquests and presents of foreign rulers. The allusion to Themistocles is not so easy to explain. Plutarch expressly states that Themistocles was an impartial judge.

l. 5 from bot. I may well say P: may we truly say M.

40, l. 3. censured=estimated.

l. 6. seem'd P: loomed M.

l. 15. 'been' here has to do duty for some such phrase as 'resulted in'. If Sidney had found himself inferior to any one in dignity or position, he would have treated such an one with humble obedience,

obedience, even if the man had been a petty Sicilian tyrant.

41, l. 7. P wrongly inserts 'but' before 'such'.

l. 3 from bot. The printer of P after 'service to' at the bottom of p. 48 went on at the top of p. 49 'the Empire? For under', &c., his eye catching the end of the previous sentence, so that the words from 'the Empire' to 'service to' occur twice over. The erratic character of seventeenth-century printing is illustrated by the fact that in the first version he prints 'shaddow', 'Did,' 'reall,' in the second 'shadow', 'did,' 'real.'

l. 2 from bot. an P: one M, Grosart.

42, l. 2 from bot. this M, Grosart: their P. I have taken 'this' as it makes the sense clearer. The conjunction is that of Rome and Spain, whereas 'their' at first reading suggests the German Princes.

43, l. 14. finely P: finally M, Grosart. 'Finally' is perhaps right, but I give the *lectio exquisitor* as it has possession of the text.

44, l. 9. symbolize=form a league for mutual protection, a sense which, as far as I know, Greville derived from the Greek.

par. 2, l. 6. support M: suport P, by a misprint which Grosart does not notice. Just above, Grosart, presumably by a misprint, reports P as reading 'contines' for 'continues'.

45, end of ch. 4. prize which did enfranchise this Master Spirit, &c.] 'Master-prize' or 'master's-prize' occurs fairly often in seventeenth-century literature, especially drama, in one sense of 'master-piece', viz. a piece of work done by an apprentice in order to qualify as a master worker.

On

On p. 49, l. 4, 'master prize' = 'master-piece' in its more usual signification.

46, l. 13. Poetical = fictitious. Cp. p. 50, l. 2.

47, l. 12. Philip II defeated the French at St. Quintin in 1557, having drawn England into declaring war on France. Greville means that this victory was no more profitable to England than the loss of Calais in the following year.

48, l. 12. Cp. p. 58, end of par. 1.

49, l. 4. M (Grosart wrongly says P) drops 'his' before 'playing'. For 'master prize' = 'master-piece' see note on p. 45, end of ch. iv, above.

par. 2, l. 3. curious P: enuious M, Grosart, perhaps rightly.

50, l. 4. Dolman was the fictitious publisher's name under which the famous Jesuit Father Parsons brought out his anonymous *Conference about the next Succession to the Crowne of England* (1594). The authorship seems to have been known to many, but as late as 1603 Sir Anthony Standen in a letter to Parsons himself (*Calendar of State Papers Domestic* 1603, Addenda p. 435) speaks of 'Dolman's book' as if the treatise went by that name, and Greville here writing still later seems not to be aware that Dolman was a man of straw.

par. 2, l. 7. sect P: sorte M. Grosart calls 'sect' a gross misreading, but it is clearly the better word here. For the use of 'sect' cp. p. 54, l. 9 from bot.

l. 4 from bot. under . . . Covert Baron = under the guardianship of a husband.

51, l. 2. P omits 'an', which I restore from M.

l. 6. M misreads 'minds' for 'mines', as Grosart notices.

51, l. 5 from bot. Grosart follows M in reading 'the holy mother the Church': but P is surely right in omitting the second 'the'. 'The holy mother church' is the Roman Church, so styled in the thought of the supposed Roman Catholic Consort of Queen Elizabeth. Cp. pp. 58, l. 6; 75, l. 6 from bot. The whole paragraph means that the Duke of Anjou, if he had become Elizabeth's husband, would have tried to change the religion of England thirdly by stretching points of doctrine so as to bring Anglican views nearer to Roman; so making men's minds waver, and gradually seeing how far he could go, not by open toleration of Roman doctrines and practices, but by conniving at them—such connivance being a snare, i. e. being able to be disavowed or not, according to the convenience of the ruling power.

52, l. 4. conference = conversation.

l. 9 from bot. earth-eyd M, Grosart: earth-cy P. P's reading is clearly a mistake: but the expression 'earth-eyd' is difficult. I suppose it means that our common law works underground, like a mole, no one exactly knowing which direction it is taking; and so it lends itself to the use of the sovereign without his 'absoluteness' being open and openly resisted.

53, l. 7. sheer=shear, fleece.

l. 8. bondage P, Grosart: pondage M, which Grosart reports as 'poundage'.

l. 12. This is textually one of the most important passages. M omits 'Danaus' and leaves a space, the copyist evidently being unable to read his original or to supply the word by conjecture. M also omits all the words from 'of prodigality' to 'old age', inclusive, thereby reducing the passage

sage to nonsense. The thought is in itself subtle: by taxing the people for merely wasteful expenditure to bolster up tyranny, because the people will be too impoverished to rise against it. It is, however, inconsistent with the seventh device which follows.

53, last l. under the envy of that art = under the odium attaching to the 'multitude of impoverishing impositions'. The reference to the Duc de Guise alludes to his leadership of the League and dictation of his will to Henry III of France (1585-8).

54, l. 8. P misprints 'Garmany'.

l. 11. Religion, and traffique M, Grosart: Religion, suffique P, by mistake.

l. 4 from bot. 'and' would be more correct than 'or', in which however P and M agree

55, l. 5 from bot. Grosart wrongly attributes M's false reading 'constrain'd' to P.

56, l. 4. money P: men M, Grosart. 'Money' suits 'much' better, and 'men' is tautologous with 'bloud'.

l. 9. M omits 'reciprocally'.

l. 6 from bot. Want of understanding is shown in M here, which reads 'misteries; a multiplie native wealth by improveing their manhood at home', &c., and just below 'defects as (he said)'. Grosart gives no idea of this state of M's text.

57, l. 7. or M, Grosart: in P, by misprint owing to 'invasion' following.

l. 12. A stronger stop at 'them' would make the construction clearer: 'dangerous neighbours,' 'prejudice,' 'a terror,' 'apt,' all being predicates after 'make them become'.

57, last line.

57, last line. constrain P, by misprint: cp. p. 58, last line, where it prints 'constraining'.

59, l. 4. Scirpalus was the pirate who captured Diogenes the Cynic and sold him in Crete: Diog. Laert. 6. 74. Grosart has the wonderful note: 'Qy = Sarpedon cf. *Iliad* vi. 199; ii. 876; v. 479 &c. &c.' annoy M: among P.

l. 8 from bot. The sense would be more easily caught with a comma at 'universally' and a semi-colon at 'spoil'.

62, par. 2, l. 12. Greville is perhaps referring to that part of the story of Lamia which relates that, when she became, through Hera's jealousy, a disfigured childless fury, Zeus gave her the power of taking her eyes out of her head and putting them in again (cp. *Dict. of Myth.*). Sidney would have found that the courtiers only looked at Worth, Justice, and Duty when it suited them. Or he may mean merely that they looked with the distorted eyes of rage at qualities which they did not possess, just as Lamia, robbed of her own children, looked at other people's.

par. 2, l. 13. stained=obscured, kept from the Queen's favour, disgraced; cp. Shakespeare, *Sonnets*, xxxv (quoted in *Century Dict.*), 'Clouds and eclipses stain both moon and sun.'

63, l. 12. born P: bound M, Grosart.

64, l. 13. Grosart adopts M's reading 'passion, swoln with the windes of this'. But 'his' is clearly right. It means that the Earl of Oxford's party was at this time in power. Oxford's wife was a daughter of Lord Burghley.

65, l. 16. M inserts 'an' before 'inward', perhaps rightly.

66, l. 13. to P: of M, perhaps rightly.

66, l. 7

66, l. 7 from bot. P and M agree in 'humours', and the word is freely used by Greville as by other sixteenth- and seventeenth-century writers in various senses that can be derived from the old physiological theory of the 'cardinal humours' or fluids of the body, the mixture of which in various proportions was the cause of the varieties of human character. Still 'honour' is a tempting emendation here.

69, l. 8 from bot. president=precedent: so too p. 173, par. 3, l. 8.

71, l. 3. This use of 'dispense with'='put up with, allow' (the opposite of the more usual meaning 'do without, remit') is first quoted in *N.E.D.* from Sidney himself. It occurs occasionally in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century writers.

72, l. 3 from bot. for M: from P, wrongly. Grosart says 'stupidly', but applies no epithet to M's omission of 'more' before 'secret' in the middle of the previous paragraph, or substitution of 'with' for 'without' at the end of the same.

73, l. 8. industrious P: industrious M. Both forms are found in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century writers: cp. *N.E.D.*

l. 14. Don Antonio was the pretender to the throne of Portugal in support of whose claims Elizabeth authorized the unsuccessful expedition of Sir John Norreys and Francis Drake in 1589.

75, l. 1. M inserts 'but' before 'it may be', and it improves the sentence. Grosart reports M as reading 'bot'. I think the word is meant for 'but'; but it is written so small that the ink has filled up the curve of the 'u'.

par. 2, l. 6. his M: this P.

l. 5 from bot. Grosart reads 'fit' with note 'Query—

‘Query—sit?’ But both M and P read ‘sit’, M in the form ‘sitte’.

76, l. 5. although P: as though M, Grosart, who absurdly says ‘P grossly misprints “although”’. ‘Although’ makes sense, ‘as though’ none.

l. 10. I have here ventured on an emendation which is, I think, certain: viz, ‘selfnesses’ for ‘salfe places’ of P, ‘sealf places’ of M. (Grosart misreports P as misreading ‘false’). ‘Selfness’ is a word characteristic of Greville: for the plural cp. p. 114 last line: and for the antithesis with the duty of obedience, p. 147 at the top.

77, par. 2, end. After ‘honor’ M has, without any sign of afterthought, the following sentence: ‘Yet to deale trulie with the dead, he was a man not only sufficient in the triviall parts of Navigation, but even large beyond his profession in undertaking that vast Empire of Spaine, a masse so far above him in Councel, wealth, and disciplin’d armies.’ (‘Undertakinge’ is spelled ‘undertakinge’ by a slip in M). For this and similar serious discrepancies between M and P see the Introduction.

l. 2 from bot. We should probably read ‘adventurers’.

78, l. 4. possibilitie M: impossibility P, Grosart, without comment. I had conjectured ‘possibility’ before finding it in M.

last line. These fine words are used by Wordsworth in a well-known sonnet, *Another year!*—*another deadly blow!* ll. 12-14:—

A venal Band

Who are to judge of danger which they fear,
And honour which they do not understand.

‘These two lines,’ says Wordsworth in his note,
‘from

'from Lord Brooke's Life of Sir Philip Sydney': a note which first sent me, many years ago, to this treatise.

79, l. 11. M inserts 'in either' after 'govern'd':
i.e. 'in either peace or war'.

l. 14. complexions=characters.

l. 5 from bot. creation=nature.

last line. Grosart follows M in wrongly omitting 'she' before 'shewed'.

80, l. 6 from bot. his M: this P.

81, l. 7. prone P: proud M, Grosart. I think P is right. The meaning is that the nobles were restless and turbulent; hence the tendency 'to be cantonized by self-division'.

par. 2. Grosart makes nonsense of this paragraph by following M in reading 'his' before 'false assumpsit'. The sense is obscurely expressed at the best. The paragraph means: He saw the States of the Empire resting upon the Empire's own greatness, and, under this false assumption, giving the rein to the Emperor to do what he liked with them. Cp. p. 25, l. 6.

82, l. 3. M and P agree in the phrase 'of serving humanity': the only meaning I can read in the words is 'fine schools of which the ostensible purpose was to do service to humane learning'; but the expression is not satisfactory.

par. 2, l. 1. The like mist these craftie mist-raisers intended M: The like mist these crafty-raisers invented P. Grosart reads, as if from M, 'The like craftie mist-raisers intended,' making nonsense. 'Intended'='intended', and is so used as late as Greville (e. g. Holinshed 1577-87: *N.E.D.*): perhaps the obsolete form led to P's mistaken 'invented'.

83, l. 7. their P: his M, Grosart. 'His' may be right and would be more grammatical, referring to the 'Monarchie of Spain': but at the beginning of the next paragraph Greville takes up the same subject with 'they'; and in fact he has in his mind, as usual, the composite subject, the arch-enemy of the Reformed Churches, Spain and Rome combined.

par. 2, l. 4 from bot. enticements M (not noticed by Grosart): exticements P, Grosart (a *vox nihili*, for which Sir Egerton Brydges substituted 'excitements').

84, par. 3, l. 3. Polack M: Polae P.

l. 7. The sentence 'The King . . . active Princes' is omitted by M.

l. 3 from bot. M inserts 'kept' before 'quiet', and is probably right: this and the two previous clauses, though punctuated as independent sentences, are in sense subordinate to and explanatory of the first clause of the paragraph.

85, par. 2, l. 3. not P: most M, Grosart.

par. 3, l. 4. force P: feare M, very likely rightly.

l. 5 from bot. 'challenging their own' apparently means 'asserting their own rights'.

86, l. 6 from bot. voices P: vices M, Grosart, making no sense. Greville means that Spain had Cardinals in her pay who voted in her interest in the Conclave.

87, par. 2, l. 1. P inserts 'And' before 'out of which', and Grosart here strangely deserts M, which rightly omits it.

88, l. 6 from bot. could P: would M.

89, par. 2 at end. After 'discipline': M adds 'and so like the manie passages of a medicine,'

loose a great part of their vertue, before they come to worke'.

89, par. 3, l. 1. And so P. Whereupon he M.

l. 6 from bot. cp. Caesar, *Bell. Gall.* iv. 5.

90, l. 7 from bot. all havens P: every haven M. M writes 'the' by mistake for 'they'.

91, l. 6. M omits 'if . . . monies'.

l. 2 from bot. 'this reall inquisition' seems to mean this inquisition into the power of Spain and the possibilities of overthrowing that power, as contrasted, by a sort of pun, with the Spanish Inquisition. But it is perhaps worth notice that on p. 93, l. 5 from bot. we have the expression 'Regall inquisition'.

92, l. 9. Cales = Cadiz, as p. 172, l. 5 from bot. The form 'Cales' was in common use in the sixteenth century. Thus in Minsheu's *Spanish-English Dict.* (1599) we have 'Cádiz: the city of Cales in Spain'. On the other hand in Stevens's *Dict.* (1706) in a fairly long article on Cadiz there is no mention of the form 'Cales'. Zedler's *Universal Lexicon* recognizes the forms 'Cadis, Cadix, oder Calis'. For the danger of confusion with Calais cp. note on p. 97, l. 6 from bot.

l. 8 from bot. bin P: layne (corrected from layd) M.

93, l. 7. I have corrected P's 'commodius'. M writes 'comodious'.

l. 12. M omits 'I mean'.

94, par. 2, ll. 6, 7. Both P and M read 'sex' and 'sexes' here, but it is obvious that Greville is referring to religious 'sects'. 'All sexes,' moreover, in the usual sense of 'sex', is an expression devoid of meaning. It seems possible that Greville is employing a sort of pun, especially as in his day
'sect'

'sect' was sometimes used for 'sex', as in Shakespeare, *II Henry the Fourth*, ii. 4. 41: 'So is all her sect; an they be once in a calm, they are sick.' The serious meaning of the passage, however, seems clearly to be that Queen Elizabeth rested with her sects at home (i.e. did not unnecessarily stir up religious strife in England) but moved all sects abroad (i.e. stirred up the Huguenots, the Lutherans, &c., in her active foreign policy).

95, l. 5. Domanies P, by misprint: demasnes M.

par. 2, l. 3. divisions M: diversions P.

l. 9. disorder M: *Discorder* P, Grosart, without comment. This passage is, curiously, quoted in *N.E.D.* as an instance of the word 'Discorder', together with a single instance of 'dyscordour' ('a stryver, a dyscordour') c. 1400 A.D. Before seeing M I felt sure that Greville wrote either 'Discordia' or 'Disorder'. 'Discorder,' even if it existed, would make no sense here.

96, l. 1. oversoaring M: over-soring P, Grosart.

l. 3. P omits 'it' by mistake.

l. 4. greatest P: great M, which seems the better reading.

l. 5. waving] Cp. p. 204, l. 2 from bot.

l. 9. interruption P: interruptinge M.

l. 12. Roan=Rouen.

97, l. 6. rest P: rests M, Grosart.

par. 1, l. 2 from bot. Grosart says that M omits the 'of' before 'enjoying': but it is really the 'of' before 'over-gripping' which M omits, a more venial error.

par. 2, l. 2. *Calice* M: *Calès* P, Grosart, without comment. M is obviously right here. Greville uses the forms 'Calice' (p. 47, l. 13) and

'Callice'

'Callice' (p. 166, l. 10; p. 167, l. 14) for Calais. Cales, as we have seen (note on p. 92, l. 9), is Cadiz.

97, l. 4 from bot. that Mayn P: the maine M
The words 'offered . . . protection' are omitted by M. P prints a comma after 'offered'.

l. 3 from bot. M inserts 'an' before 'honor' (as it spells 'honour').

98, l. 13. Magistracy into Sale works] This curious expression, if correct, must mean that magistracy had been transformed into a system of buying and selling lucrative offices.

99, l. 2. unsubdued M: subdued P. P has no stop after 'Germany'; M rightly has.

l. 12. Citadellize = keep in subjection by means of garrisons; cp. p. 56, l. 1.

l. 6 from bot. resolve M: resist P. M omits 'to'.

100, l. 1. treadinge M: trading P.

l. 4. or P: and M, probably rightly.

l. 7 from bot. Grosart prints 'divisions' without comment.

101, l. 3. &c., and M: P in some copies reads 'and &c.', in others '&c.' alone. Similarly in some copies P has no comma after 'Navarre'; and in some copies misprints 'intterrupt'; while in others it has neither of these mistakes, thus proving that more than one impression was issued, though without the statement of any new edition.

l. 5. prosecutions P: prosecution M.

l. 6. M omits 'to the same end'.

l. 7. this M: his P.

par. 2, l. 3. more than charge=beyond the expense.

l. 8. M omits 'new', and transposes 'undertaken' and 'league'.

102, l. 3.

- 102, l. 3. whom P: which M.
 par. 2, l. 12. Powers P: Princes M.
 l. 13. mean P: weake M.
- 103, l. 4. P has a semicolon after 'weak :
 M rightly only a comma.
 l. 9. in P: to M.
 l. 11. M omits 'by that course'.
 l. 9 from bot. M inserts 'the' before 'less',
 probably rightly.
 l. 7 from bot. P in some copies has a comma
 after 'gallies', in one (at least) a colon.
 l. 3 from bot. P has a comma after instead of
 before 'rather'.
 l. 2 from bot. or P: not M. M's reading is
 certainly more pointed and may be right.
- 104, par. 2, l. 12. P in some copies spells
 'Manumissions' correctly, in one (at least) omits
 the 'u'.
 l. 13. those M: these P. oppressing P:
 suppressing M.
 l. 7 from bot. M (Grosart wrongly says P)
 omits the second 'Spanish'.
 l. 5 from bot. After 'Nation' M inserts 'and
 their native Princes'.
- 105, l. 4. M inserts 'nay' before 'even'. The
 sentence is hardly grammatical, though the sense is
 plain.
 par. 2, l. 2. would P: could M.
 par. 2, l. 4. M omits 'the'. 'to keep his
 becoming Chaplain . . .' means 'in order to keep
 his becoming subject to, a mere Chaplain to,
 Spain . . .'; cp. p. 58, l. 14.
 par. 2, l. 8. thus M: his P.
 l. 2 from bot. whereby he might so preserve
 P: seeing the Pope thereby might preserve M.
 This

This passage is all very obscure, even for this part of the treatise. By substituting a full stop for a comma before 'whereby' (cp. p. 106, l. 6), we get some light on the meaning, since the 'he' of the last line of the page is certainly the Pope. I subjoin a paraphrase of the paragraph. 'Lastly he asked whether the Pope would not, like a man holy but yet of this world, in order to put off his subjection to Spain, connive at, or at any rate not excommunicate, or start a Crusade against, these qualifying Armies, and do this [connive, &c.] merely to moderate the over-greatness of the Spanish monarchy—a monarchy which was nursed under the Papacy and its intrigues, but which now imperiously announces its resolution of abolishing all distinctions among men except that absolute rule of the superiority of the wise and the strong. Acting in this way the Pope might keep his spiritual supremacy, without the religion or the sovereignty of various courts being disturbed (i. e. without pushing the enemies of Spain into utter opposition to the Roman Church and causing wars of religion), and might restore the autonomy of the Italian States. Granted that this would mean that the Pope gave up some of his temporal advantages and the jurisdiction he exercised as the subordinate of Spain; yet still he would increase his spiritual prestige, and with the aid of the other princes shake off the tyranny of Spain.' The latter part of the paragraph is easy enough. For the expression 'qualifying Armies', viz. armies of which the object was to reduce the absoluteness of Spain, cp. p. 107, par. 2, l. 5. For 'that Canonical regiment of wit and might', if I have explained it rightly, cp. Wordsworth, *Rob Roy's Grave*, l. 37:—
 'For

For why?—because the good old rule
 Sufficeth them, the simple plan,
 That they should take, who have the power,
 And they should keep, who can.

And, still more closely parallel, though less familiar, line 49:—

All kinds and creatures stand and fall
 By strength of prowess or of wit:
 'Tis God's appointment who must sway,
 And who is to submit.

106, l. 5. free P: freed M, by a slip, which Grosart adopts.

l. 6. M omits 'Whereby'.

l. 10. M omits '(as I said)'.

l. 3 from bot. *Ottoman* P: Augustus M. A most curious variation of reading, which perhaps should be traced to an alteration made by Greville himself or an alternative left undecided. The superficial connexion of Antony and Augustus is obvious; but 'Ottoman' suits the context better than 'Augustus'. It is noticeable that Philip is compared to Augustus in the next paragraph (p. 108, l. 11), but in a more appropriate context. It is possible to imagine Brutus or even Cicero speaking of undertaking Antony separately in order to overthrow the designs of Octavian (whom Greville might speak of as Augustus by a common anachronism), but I know of no definite source for such an allusion. At the same time the reference to Antony by himself is obscure. Possibly, if Greville had not destroyed his tragedy of *Antony and Cleopatra*, we should have found a key to the riddle there. For the phrase 'Spanish Ottoman'

cp.

cp. p. 99, l. 4 from bottom: 'this devouring Sultan.'

107, par. 2, l. 5. those M: these P.

l. 8 from bot. Noun-adjective-natured] For this quaint but easily understood epithet cp. p. 143, par. 2, l. 6; p. 166, l. 5 from bottom.

108, l. 1. This passage is made hopelessly obscure, no doubt, by the loss of a verb. The sense is that she had seen Philip 'entice' Henry III (or some such expression), just as Spain was now trying to entice the noun-adjective-natured German Princes.

l. 3. M omits 'fellow-'.
 l. 5. P. misprints 'Amiers'.

l. 8. Paris P: Roan M. This is a curious variant, because either reading gives equally good sense. In 1590 Alexander Fainese, Duke of Parma, marched from the Netherlands and relieved Paris from the siege of Henry of Navarre; in 1592 he did exactly the same for Rouen: and as both these incidents took place some years after Sir Philip Sidney's death (1586), Greville is in either case combining Sidney's view of politics with later experiences of Elizabeth. It seems not improbable that Greville wrote first one of these towns down and then the other, possibly intending to mention both, possibly forgetting to delete one. I have substituted a full stop after 'Paris' for the comma of P, to save the sense.

l. 11. *Augustus*-like: referring to Augustus' injunctions to Tiberius not to extend the boundaries of the Empire after his death.

ll. 13 foll. This sentence loses itself in its tail. The sense is: 'foreseeing that succeeding Princes, with their various characters and dispositions, would

would be unable to maintain such new, unassimilated usurpations (as Amiens, Abbeville, &c.) in the heart of a kingdom which was a rival with his own.' He expands the notion 'his own kingdom' into 'his seven-headed Hydra, which was only kept together by Fortune keeping her wheel in a position favourable to Spain for an unnaturally long time, which would come to an end when some new child of Fortune should come to the top—as did in fact happen when Henry IV came to the throne of France'.

108, l. 7 from bot. restoring=putting back to their former condition, i. e. here 'rectifying'.

l. 3 from bot. these P: those M. I keep 'these' here, as in l. 10 above, where there is no variant. Either word makes equally good sense.

last line. or M: as P, Grosart without noticing the variant. Smoaks = exhalations of a sacrifice: cp. Shakespeare, *Cymbeline*, v. 5. 477:—

Laud we the Gods;

And let our crooked smokes climb to their nostrils
From our blest altars.

109, l. 1. of a dyeinge diseased M: dying of a diseased P, without sense.

l. 5. encrochments M: enchroments P, Grosart. P spells the word rightly on the previous page.

l. 8. After 'doth' we must supply 'carry'.

par. 2, l. 4. P has dropped the comma after 'left', and the first 'i' of 'inhabite' in l. 6.

l. 6 from bot. The semicolon after 'weakest' is characteristic; the sense would be clearer to us with a comma or even no stop.

110, l. 5. neutralitie M: naturality P.

110, l. 12.

110, l. 12. Grosart reads 'only' before 'grounds', from an obvious mistake of P, in which 'only' is the catchword on p. 123 but is not in the text at the top of p. 124. It has been printed as the catchword by accidental reference to 'only' at the beginning of the next line but two. Grosart solemnly records that M omits it.

l. 5 from bot. Mayne M: Mine P. Cp. p. 117, par. 2, l. 7.

111, par. 2, l. 7. *Cimerons* P. M has a collection of letters evidently written by some one who did not know the word intended. The scribe has tried to imitate the letters of the original and was apparently uncertain whether the 'C' was followed by 'i' or 'm': the result is 'C in n r o n s' or 'C m n r o n s'. The word is more correctly spelt 'Cimarrons', and means (1) wild, uncivilized, (2) runaway negroes, or, as here, natives of the West Indies. Grosart in his text has 'Cinnons', and attributes to P the reading 'Cimenons'.

112, par. 2, l. 2. M omits 'the' wrongly, and is followed by Grosart.

l. 3. conjunction P: comixion M, which Grosart reports as 'commixion'; but there is no sign of doubling over the 'm'. P repeats 'of' twice before 'Scotland' and omits it before 'England'.

l. 7. M adds 'of' after 'disposed', and omits 'any' before 'strength'.

113, par. 2, l. 2. over-racked unitie M: racked vanity P. Either expression 'over-stretched unification, or absorption of others into the empire of Spain', or 'strained, exaggerated, vanity, or vain ambition', makes good sense, and is consonant with Greville's diction; but (1) it is much more likely that 'over' has dropped out in P or
its

its original than that it has been wrongly inserted in M; (2) 'vanity' is not exactly the word we should expect, but rather 'ambition' or, as on p. 115, par. 2, l. 2, 'bloudy pride,' if this was Greville's meaning, whereas the attempt of Spain to establish an unnatural (over-strained) universal empire is the principal theme of these reflections.

114, l. 9. M has 'against' corrected to 'besides'.

l. 10. M omits 'Spain' and writes 'barraine' (as on p. 115, l. 12), and omits 'more' in l. 11.

l. 12. affectations M: affections P.

l. 15. For the semicolon cp. note on p. 109, l. 6 from bot.

l. 17, rest P: be M, Grosart.

l. 3 from bot. laws P: lawe M.

last line. P misprints 'selfsnesses'.

115, l. 1. over M: other P, by mistake. The construction of the sentence is not clear. It probably means: 'to imprison divine laws within the narrowness of will and of human wisdom, owing to the fettered self-seeking of cowardly or over-confident Tyranny.' But there is a confusion of images, both divine laws and the self-interest of Tyranny being represented as in bondage.

l. 3. commotion P: commiction M. It is not easy to choose. With 'commotion' the sense is that by restraining the importation of arms Spain keeps its colonies quiet: with 'commiction', i. e. intercourse, that Spain allows no commerce between her colonies and other countries, as we heard on p. 113, par. 2.

l. 5. that continually P: out of those desperate counsellors of oppression M.

l. 6. free-denized in P: in free-denizend in M.

M: in free denized Grosart, who simply (and wrongly) comments 'P, omits "in"'.
 115, l. 14. rack M: rock P. The antithesis to 'ease' makes 'rack' probable, especially as it is a favourite word: otherwise the 'waving' designs of an 'unsteady' power would favour 'rock'. An unsteady pyramid is a somewhat self-contradictory figure, but Greville is thinking of Spain as perched on the sharp point of the pyramid.

l. 4 from bot. This means that Spain employed the Inquisition not, as formerly, with the pretended purpose of pruning or governing, i. e. of keeping men's religious beliefs under some sort of discipline, but, in a senile over-confidence, with the undisguised purpose of rooting out all freedom of thought. The use of 'masks' = 'disguised proceedings' is a Grevillian extension of the familiar sense, which seems, however, to have only lately come into use, 'disguise.'

l. 5. devily characters P: liuelie chararts M: liuelie characts Grosart, who says 'P, oddly misreads "devily"'. The choice between 'characters' and 'characts' is indifferent; both mean 'features', 'traits,' and Greville uses both (one of the instances referred to by Grosart for 'characts' gives 'character' in the sense 'impression', 'reproduction,' *Caelica*, Sonnet iii, l. 8). As between 'devily' and 'lively', 'devily' gives an excellent antithesis between the 'deity' of the Christians and the 'devilish features' which Spanish barbarity displayed: but it is noticeable that the latest example of this form of the adjective given by N.E.D. (except the passage under discussion) is *circa* 1485. The fact that we have 'lively Images of the dark Prince' just above, p. 116, l. 16, makes 'lively' a plausible

a plausible reading, but for that very reason may have led to its substitution for 'devily'. On the whole, I keep P's reading, with diffidence.

117, l. 6 from bot. by that means P: resolved M.

l. 4 from bot. M inserts 'in the South Sea' after 'Fleet'.

118, l. 3 from bot. *Ramas* = heap, collection; cp. French *ramasser*.

119, l. 6. wide the door P: the wide door M.

l. 14. M omits 'mother'.

l. 15. ingeniously P: ingeniouslie M. The two forms are interchangeable in early writers. Here the meaning is nearer our 'ingeniously': more often it is nearer our 'ingenuously', as on the next page, par. 2, l. 7.

120, l. 1. M omits 'the'.

l. 4. undertaker M: undertakers P.

l. 2 from bot. M omits 'to'.

121, par. 2, l. 5. secure P: seure M, perhaps rightly.

l. 5 from bot. Grosart attributes to P the mistake 'loues' for 'lives', which M makes.

l. 2 from bot. after 'directions' M rightly inserts 'from the state, and found all accidents concurring with the directions'. P omits, by mistake arising from the repetition of the word 'directions'. 'The state' = 'the statement or written information (plans, number of troops, &c.) supplied to the commanding officer for his guidance'. This I believe to be the meaning which is illustrated, though not exactly matched, by the use of the expression in modern regimental life. The only other interpretation that seems possible is that 'state' = 'staff'; cp. *l'état-major*, 'Government,'

'Government,' whether the English or the Dutch or that of Gravelines, makes no real sense.

122, l. 3. *Simon* M: *Simon* P. The reference is, of course, to the story of the deceit of Sinon in Virgil, *Aeneid*, bk. ii.

l. 11. diversion=turning away; cp. 'diverting', p. 120, l. 3 from bot.

l. 14. which P: as M.

123, par. 2, l. 7. P prints 'Lieutenant'.

124, l. 5 from bot. in M: at P. with P: by M.

125, l. 8. M inserts 'Count' before 'Hollock'.

l. 3 from bot. M inserts 'prouoked' before 'beyond', probably rightly.

126, par. 2, l. 4. M omits 'and art'.

l. 5. M reads 'sufficiencie', perhaps rightly, but unnoticed by Grosart.

l. 10. Grosart makes the extraordinary suggestion 'qu. advantage?' for 'disadvantage'. The sense obviously is that Sidney might have raised himself at Leicester's expense.

127, par. 2, l. 3. alayed M: allied P. 'allayed' = 'alloyed', cp. p. 161 last line.

par. 2, l. 8. to P: of M.

128, l. 13. this unenvious *Themistocles*] The reference here is to the story (told by Plutarch, *Vita Them.*, iii), that the fame won by Multiades at Marathon caused such a change in the daily habits of Themistocles that his friends inquired the reason; to whom he replied that 'the trophy of Multiades did not let him sleep'.

l. 9 from bot. M omits 'had'. Grosart erroneously refers the omission to the word 'resolved'.

129, par. 2, last line. M omits 'any'.

131, l. 2.

131, l. 2. sensible natured = sensible of, or sensitive to, pain.

132, l. 1. the same P: that M.

l. 11. M inserts 'unexpected' before 'words', and 'in a distracted passion' before 'cries'.

133, ll. 3 foll. I follow P, which makes a good, though quaintly expressed sense. 'Unworthiness' is the author of the Florentine proverb ('Amicizia riconciliata piaga mal saldata,' as Grosart quotes). M reads 'buried with worthines, the author of it, or at least the practice, cryed down'; but 'with worthines' is an unmeaning tautology with 'worthily'. Grosart has an unintelligible reading 'practise it' and an unintelligible note 'P, 'practise'".

par. 2, l. 5. M omits 'of'.

l. 6. stang P: stunge M. The phrase = 'the pangs with which his wounds stung him'.

l. 7. P has a comma after 'together'.

134, l. 12. M omits 'presently'.

l. 2 from bot. artificers P: artists M: artistes Grosart, who erroneously says that P has 'artifices'.

135, l. 5. M inserts 'utterly' before 'cast'.

136, l. 9. racke M: rake P.

l. 10. M inserts 'reason of' before 'sorrow' and transposes 'hardly' and 'being'.

l. 9 from bot. M and P agree in reading 'bent', which seems to mean 'tension', though I find no parallel to such a use of the substantive. 'Eternity so much affected' = 'the so great desire of eternity'.

137, l. 14. P misprints 'externall' for 'eternall'.

138, l. 8. or P: and M.

l. 10 from bot. and by that P: and by the and by the M.

l. 5 from bot. Contemplations P: Contem-
plation

plation (or rather, as M habitually writes words of this termination, 'contemplacōn') M.

138, last line. between P: of M.

139, l. 3. M omits 'of'.

l. 8 from bot. his P: this M.

l. 6 from bot. with P: in M.

140, l. 6. this P: the M.

l. 8. Scene P: line of M. The 'of' is perhaps correct.

l. 8 from bot. as they honoured, &c.] The general sense of the sentence is clearly that it was likely enough that Sidney might have become Duke of the United Netherlands, as the following passage shows: but the sentence looks hardly correct, though M and P agree. As it stands, the construction must be, 'there was such a sympathy that they honoured that worth of Sir Philip, owing to which [worth or honour?] time and occasion would have been likely ...'

141, l. 2. become M: come P. The phrase 'in time to come' is unexceptionable in itself, but the words 'to become' are needed for the construction.

par. 2, l. 2. can P: may M.

l. 3 from bot. states of few, or many = Oligarchy or Democracy, the latter being called on the next page, l. 9, Popularitie.

l. 2 from bot. M omits 'be', and has 'to' added only above the line, writing originally 'forsake the same'.

last line. M omits 'having'.

142, l. 2. M omits 'naturall'.

l. 10. forced P: enforced againe M, unnoticed by Grosart.

l. 11. Monarchs M: Monarchies P.

142, l. 16.

p. 142, l. 16. lest P: ^{least} *whether* M, as if doubtful.

l. 17. competencie=competition, as Grosart says; cp. p. 160, l. 7.

143, l. 5. mettals P. M has 'comodities' scratched out and 'mettalls' written over.

par. 2, l. 1. or P: and M.

l. 9 from bot. M inserts 'at' before 'first'; not noticed by Grosart.

l. 5 from bot. only is the P: is the only M, not noticed by Grosart.

l. 2 from bot. interested P: intrressed M, which Grosart reports as 'interested'.

144, l. 4. then=than. Hitherto P has printed 'than', the last place being p. 138, l. 8, but henceforth it prints 'then'. Also at the heading of Chapters it changes from 'Chap.' to 'Cap.' The differences probably existed in the MS. from which P was printed.

145, l. 5. M omits 'or good will', and 'own' in next line.

par. 2, l. 2. homage P. M has 'happines' scratched out and 'homage' following.

l. 3 from bot. According to modern habits of punctuation, we should omit the commas at 'birth' and 'time', and insert one after 'breeding'.

146, l. 5. P misprints 'propiest' for 'properest'.

l. 12. P has a comma after 'Governesse'.

147, par. 2, l. 7. The metaphor 'steales where it cannot trade' is not too unexpected for Greville, otherwise one might be tempted to read 'tread', comparing P's misprint on p. 100, l. 1.

par. 2, l. 10. stayed P: taxed M.

148, l. 9. anything M: nothing P.

148, l. 10. of Government, as well as P : as well of Gouernment as of M. Grosart has the facts wrong.

149, l. 1. Prince P Princesse M.

l. 8. M omits 'the'.

l. 10. be forced either P : either be forced M. Grosart wrongly says that M omits 'either'.

l. 7 from bot. his P : the M.

l. 6 from bot. planted P : placed M.

l. 5 from bot. those P : theis M.

l. 3 from bot. M inserts 'to' before 'bound'.

150, l. 12. this kind of writing P : theis kind of writeings M.

l. 3 from bot. though P : that M.

151, l. 5. self- P : safe M.

l. 12. their P. the M.

l. 3 from bot. M omits 'to' before 'cure', having first written 'excuse' by mistake after 'then' and then scratched it out.

l. 2 from bot. Grosart inserts 'some' before 'reason', without comment and without authority of M or P.

152, l. 9. more P : other M.

l. 10. was P : is M.

l. 9 from bot. M omits 'and'.

153, l. 3. extremitics P : extreames M.

l. 7. Metaphysicall P : Metaphoricall M, Grosart. Greville uses 'Metaphysicall' simply to mean 'philosophical'. Phormio was the philosopher who lectured Hannibal on the art of war, provoking the comment of Hannibal that he had seen many crazy old men but none so crazy as Phormio.

par. 2, ll. 1-3. Greville alludes to the lines of Horace, *Epistles* ii. 2. 187-189 . . Scit Genius, natale

natale comes, qui temperat astrum, | Naturae deus
humanae, mortalis in unum | Quodque caput . . .

153, par. 2, l. 6. selfe P : spirittes M.

154, l. 2. M transposes 'men' and 'commonly'.

l. 4. utmost P : uttermost M.

l. 6 from bot. M omits 'or discourses'.

155, l. 2. lumme=lumb, a fairly common spelling
in the sixteenth century. For the rarer converse
cp. *Epistle Dedicatory* l. 3.

l. 3. Treatises M : Treaties P.

l. 10. deriuatives M : derivations P.

l. 16. these P : those M. The whole of this
sentence is one of the most obscure. The general
sense is that on reconsidering his poems Greville
found that the political treatises had spread to such
an unwieldy size that he left them as they stood
without attempting further to lick them into shape
(cp. p. 153, par. 2, l. 4). But the phrase 'of our
old Pope, the sin', seems unintelligible. Was any
particular sin ever called 'the sin' *par excellence*?
Pride or Vanity (cp. the following lines) seems the
only conceivable candidate. One cannot help
suspecting that the text is corrupt; but as yet I can
see no possible emendation.

l. 4 from bot. to P : in M.

156, l. 3. 'The Astronomers pit' refers to the
well-known Greek story of Thales falling into a well.

par. 2, l. 3. P misprints 'Poets, metamorphosing'. M inserts 'of' after 'metamorphosing',
and it makes the sense clearer.

l. 7 from bot. Grosart misprints 'even' for
'ever'.

l. 5 from bot. such P : such a M. Grosart
omits 'such', as if following M.

157, l. 3. this P: that M.

l. 11. tumble upon their Sovereignes Circles = intrude upon the sacred prerogatives of Royalty; cp. p. 174, l. 7. This use of 'circle' is a favourite one with Greville; cp. p. 85, l. 2 from bot., p. 126, bottom.

par. 2, l. 4. *Laesa Majestas* P: *Laesae Majestatis* M.

158, line 3. P misprints 'time' for 'line'.

l. 8. these P: those M, perhaps rightly.

l. 12. *Prosopopeias* = Personifications. It does not clearly appear what Greville means. He was sent to Rochester to guard a figurative (i.e. fictitious) fleet, which was in danger of nothing except these personifications of (fictitious enemies imagined by?) invisible rancour (the Cecils and Raleigh, enemies of Essex?).

l. 13. M inserts 'it were' after 'as'.

l. 6 from bot. lead P: tend M.

159, l. 3. 'unreturning steps' alludes to the fable of the fox and the lion in Horace, *Epistles* i.

l. 74:

Quia me vestigia terrent
Omnia te adversum spectantia, nulla retrorsum.

par. 2, l. 3. temporary *Neptunes*: the reference is chiefly to Sir Walter Raleigh, whom Essex regarded as his chief rival. The allusion in 'Creator of Admiralls' is to the Cecils, and to the elevation of Lord Howard of Effingham to the rank of Lord High Admiral, which, when he was subsequently made Earl of Nottingham, gave him precedence over Essex. The whole of this passage may be illuminated by reference to the Life of Essex by Sidney Lee in *D.N.B.*

159, par. 2, l. 6.

159, par. 2, l. 6. his P: that M.

l. 7 war=fight.

l. 2 from bot. publique Actions P: accōns publicke M.

160, l. 2. Martiall=marshal.

l. 7. competency=competition: cp. p. 142, l. 17.

l. 9. factious English P: English factions M.

l. 10. M omits 'all'. to M: in P.

161, l. 1. M inserts 'the' before 'falling'.

l. 8. M omits 'that', probably rightly, as no particular party seems to be meant.

par. 2, l. 3. selling P: filling M. Grosart calls 'selling' a mis-reading, but it is clearly right.

l. 6. Grosart misprints 'treating' for 'creating'.

162, ll. 1 foll. If the text is correct, this extraordinary utterance must, apparently, mean, 'now after this humble and harmless desire of myself, a humble subject, to avoid the dangers of a career of action, which I have expressed in describing the errors of the Earl of Essex, a great subject, and his fall, which was brought about by the dark machinations of courtiers. . . .'

l. 12. avow M: know P.

l. 4 from bot. Legall M: Regall P. For the phrase 'Legall and Royall' cp. p. 191, l. 3 from bot.

163, l. 4. P omits 'a'.

l. 8. M omits 'with' and reads 'mutenies' (Grosart 'mutenes').

l. 11. M omits 'to show all to be infected about them'.

l. 14. M omits 'with true obedience'.

164, l. 5. Benefield] Sir Henry Bedingfield, Constable of the Tower.

164, l. 7.

164, l. 7. M inserts 'a' before 'free given'.

l. 10 from bot. perscribed P, Grosart. The reading of M is doubtful, the abbreviation for per- and pre-being the same cp. 'precipitate' on p. 165, l. 8.

l. 9 from bot. and P in M, Grosart, wrongly.

165, l. 12. Princelike P: princely M.

166, l. 8. revives P: releives M, written with some hesitation at the 'le'. 'revives' in P may be a reminiscence of p. 165, last line, but is quite likely to be right.

l. 5 from bot. Noun adjective nature: cp. p. 107, l. 8 from bot.

l. 4 from bot. proceeded P: proceedes M, probably rightly; cp. the rest of the paragraph.

167, l. 8. M omits 'of'.

l. 9 from bot. M inserts 'at home' after 'faction'. It may be right, but I believe it is a mistaken repetition from the previous clause.

168, l. 2. Refers to the League of Henry VIII and Charles V in 1543.

l. 6. The 'Astronomically, or rather biaced division of the world' refers to 'the Bull of Pope Alexander VI, which divided between the Portuguese and Castilian monarchs the World about to be discovered, laying down an imaginary line to the west of the Azores as the boundary'; A.D. 1493. —Helps, *Spanish Conquest of America*, iii. 67.

l. 12. M inserts 'the' before 'persecucōn'.

l. 2 from bot. Brill, Bril, or Briel, in S. Holland, on a branch of the Maas, near its mouth.

170, l. 6. the P: of M.

l. 11. M inserts 'many wayes' before 'distressed'.

l. 14. by P: in M.

170, l. 15.

170, l. 15. the *Holland* P. : Holland's M.

l. 9 from bot. as I said once before]] p. 57, l. 7. The whole sentence means that Elizabeth thought a combination of France and Holland might be more dangerous than Spain had hitherto been. 'Our entised undertakings, or abandoned retraits' seems to refer to such expeditions as that of Sir John Norris in support of Don Antonio.

last line. averre P ; avow M.

171, l. 5. M inserts 'especially buttressed with such stronge partyes abroad' after 'home' (Grosart misprints 'strange').

l. 7. yet P : yea M, Grosart, destroying the sense. M. has 'the' for 'they', as in several other places.

l. 8. P omits 'the' before 'Church', and in next line has a full stop after 'doe'.

l. 26. which P. that M.

l. 5 from bot. As noted before, the punctuation is puzzling to a modern reader: the construction is 'ordained to devour'. the other P : another M, Grosart, a mere slip in M.

last line. M inserts 'Hereupon' or perhaps 'Thereupon' before 'She', to the improvement of the sense.

172, par. 2, l. 1. Upon P : After M.

l. 5 from bot. *Cales* = Cadiz ; cp. p. 92, l. 9. It is worth noticing that M here first wrote 'Callice' (i. e. Calais) and then scratched it out and substituted 'Cales'.

l. 4 from bot. and P : or M. Grosart says, 'P grossly misreads "and" ; but the two forms of expression are equally idiomatic and almost equally ungrammatical.

l. 2 from bot. to P : from M. The difference
is

is less important than it might appear, as Drake after his attack on Cadiz captured the fortifications of Cape St. Vincent, and made Sagres Bay, just to the east, his base of operations for a time. The 'three foits' are probably those of Sagres, St. Vincent, and Valliera; and the 'carricke' a few lines further on is the *San Felipe*, the King of Spain's own East Indiaman, the greatest prize Drake ever took; cp. Corbett's *Drake*, vol. ii. pp. 94 and 107.

173, l. 6. journey P : voyage M.

l. 7. spoile P : spoiles M.

l. 11 from bot. presidents=precedents, as p. 69 l. 8 from bot.

l. 7 from bot. curiously P : cautiously M. Grosart says, 'P. grossly misreads "curiously" '; but it is very doubtful if P is wrong. At any rate, 'curiously' is slightly the better word here. I think Greville probably wrote 'over' and not 'ever'.

l. 4 from bot. M omits 'fiaile'.

174. This page contains one long sentence, though P prints a full stop at 'motions', l. 12. The meaning after l. 7 may be given shortly thus. Elizabeth left the comparative prerogatives of Royalty and Parliament to sleep along with those aspiring spirits who had in previous times tried to upset the balance and had forced her ancestors to act with doubtful legality and policy towards Parliament, sometimes using the Nobles to master the people and sometimes the people to make the Nobles yield.

l. 11 from bot. Session : Wherein P : cessation : where M, Grosart. P has the better reading. The envy of the other members of the House of Commons is caused by one of their number being called
up

up to the Lords. It is no question of the 'recess', as Grosart appears to think in following M.

175, ll. 4-6. Greville here perhaps alludes to the incident in the affair of Henry VIII and Catharine of Aragon, when on Cranmer's advice Henry sent round to ask the opinions of all the European universities on the question whether his marriage with Catharine had been legal or not. Henry and the Emperor each obtained a verdict favourable to himself from the universities which he could control by threats or bribery. The fact that this 'Canvasse' actually affected the legitimacy of Queen Elizabeth's birth need not have been present to Greville's mind as an objection to such an allusion. On the other hand he may be merely drawing a metaphor from the intrigues of university politics.

par. 2, l. 8. M omits 'or besides'.

l. 12. P misprints 'Petitionet'.

176, l. 1. 'a quintessence,' &c. is not the object of 'foresaw', but in opposition to 'wisdom of Government': the sentence is taken up again in l. 4, where the full stop is, according to modern punctuation, ungrammatical.

l. 5 from bot. strengths P: strength M; cp. p. 5, l. 4.

last line. 'Anti-Rome.' As often, Greville combines two points in one, however heterogeneous. He wishes to use the illustration of Remus leaping over the newly built wall of Rome, and the word Rome at once suggests its ecclesiastical sense, in which it is the opposite of the structure which Elizabeth was trying to build up.

177, l. 6. P inserts 'a' before 'foreseeing', perhaps from a loosely written 'e' at the end of 'seeme' in the original MS.

177, l. 6

- 177, l. 6 from bot. vainly M : vanity P.
 l. 2 from bot. threatned M : threaten P.
 a P : the M. The meaning is that these 'confusions' might seem ignorant passions and such as threatened nothing less than a loss of the liberties of the people, which they had inherited just as much as she had inherited her crown.
- 178, l. 3. M omits 'and her Ancestors'.
 l. 6. M inserts 'to raigne' before 'over'.
 l. 10. or P : and M.
 l. 10 from bot. by P : with M.
 l. 6 from bot. P places a comma before, and none after, 'there.'
 l. 5 from bot. M inserts 'discoüed' (apparently for 'discovered', as Grosart prints) before 'discredited'.
 last line. M omits 'all'.
 179, l. 4. M inserts 'all' before 'her'.
 l. 5. ever P : never M.
 l. 9 from bot. M omits 'Predecessor' : Grosart does not notice the omission.
 l. 8 from bot. miscarriage P : carriage M, the simpler reading, and perhaps right. At any rate 'miscarriage' must mean 'evil behaviour', not 'failure'.
 l. 5 from bot. runne P : rome M.
 l. 2 from bot. rest P : restes M. Both the singular and plural are favourite words with Greville.
- 180, l. 2. violence P : violences M.
 l. 3. defects P : deserts M.
 l. 7. their P : other M, Grosart, without sense.
 l. 8. M inserts 'being' before 'excepted'.
 l. 14. M inserts 'the' before 'earth'. It is not

not easy to decide between the two, very different, meanings: but on the whole I prefer P's reading.

180, l. 18. to P: of M, Grosart, without sense. The construction is 'be forced to traffic for a younger brother's, not an heir's, place.' The allusion is, of course, to the story of Esau; but in the subsequent clause Greville throws in a new allusion, the 'wide gates' of the Roman Church being compared, of course, to the 'wide gate, which leadeth to destruction'. In the following sentence the illustration again shifts its ground, and is taken from the distinction between sons and servants, especially prominent in St. Paul's teaching.

l. 19. an heires P: a coheires M.

l. 7 from bot. he=Henry IV of France, the general reflections arising out of his apostasy here gliding back into his particular case.

181, l. 7 from bot. holy M: hollow P. 'Hollow' seems inappropriate here.

l. 4 from bot. the striving *Alexanders* of time present] Cp. p. 211, l. 16.

l. 3 from bot. Grosart puts a comma at 'passing' without authority, and destroying the sense. 'passing finely' = 'very finely'. Cp. p. 186, par 2, l. 3.

182, l. 12. Where P: Whence M.

l. 3 from bot. M has 'ministers of justice' written and scratched out before 'distributers'.

183, l. 2. superstitious P: suspicious M. In another writer one would accept M's reading without question, but Greville uses 'superstitious' often and is quite capable of giving it such a meaning as 'unworthy, like false religion, of credit'.

par. 2, l. 7. the P: their M.

183, last line.

183, last line. 'by their places' apparently = 'in due order, distinctly'.

184, l. 1. Nature M · Natures P.

l. 2. 1call M. deep P. 'deep' is perhaps tempting as the *lectio exquisitior*, but 'reall businesse' is Greville's style.

l. 9 from bot. their P · the M.

l. 5 from bot. P misprints 'Polarke'.

185, l. 2. a P · any M.

l. 3. M inserts 'and' before 'again'.

l. 6. M omits 'entire to her selfe'.

par. 2, l. 7. M omits 'power and'.

l. 8. her P · a M.

l. 11. eyes P · eye M.

l. 8 from bot. The reference is to the marriage of Burghley's granddaughter Lady Lucy Cecil, daughter of Thomas, Earl of Exeter, with William, fourth Marquis of Winchester, great-grandson of Burghley's predecessor as Lord Treasurer, William Paulet, first Marquis of Winchester. Greville's phrasology is curious, as Paulet had long been dead when this marriage took place.

l. 4 from bot. Copyholds P: Copyholders M.

l. 3 from bot. M omits 'to take hold'.

last line. Grosart has an erroneous note that M omits 'what soever'.

186, l. 3. M omits 'and'.

l. 13. will P: would M.

l. 15. M inserts 'private' before 'Exchequer'.

l. 17. inned=gathered in, a fairly common use till the eighteenth century.

par. 2, l. 3. graces P · grauntes M, probably rightly.

l. 2 from bot. circuit P: circles M. 'circles' is a favourite word with Greville, especially

in connexion with monarchy: but 'circuit' may be right here.

187, l. 4. or P: and M.

par. 2, l. 1. her P: the M.

l. 6. her M: their P. Royalties P: Regallities M.

l. 3 from bot. reverend M: reverent P.

last line. out of M: in P.

188, l. 1. upon P: against M.

l. 14. M inserts 'any' before 'present', and writes 'extremity'.

par. 2, l. 3. M inserts 'of' before 'honour', and Grosart follows.

l. 4. State P: estate M.

189, l. 4. M inserts 'chiefe' after 'other'.

l. 6. punishments P: punishment M.

par. 3, l. 3. another P: the other M.

l. 4. her P: the M.

l. 5. Liveries P: libertyes M, Grosart.

l. 6 from bot. M has the modern spelling 'Yeomanry', unnoticed by Grosart.

l. 5 from bot. Nobles P: Noblesse M.

190, l. 3. champion countrey=unenclosed, common land (cp. *N.E.D.*), and is opposed to the 'fences' of the next clause, both being, of course, metaphorical.

l. 10. those P: theis M (i.e. these). Grosart reads 'them', without meaning.

191, l. 1. M inserts 'his' after 'Pythagoras', making the construction clear at first sight: of course 'Pythagoras' is in the possessive case, though P, as usual, does not mark it. The allusion is to one of the 'golden sayings' of Pythagoras, that the paths of Virtue and of Vice resemble the letter Ψ (the old form of Υ or Υ); that of Virtue
being

being the arduous one straight up, that of Vice the one leading more gently off to the left. This, with other picturesque traditions of Pythagoras, is banished from our modern books of reference, but may be found in older works; or see Conington on Persius III. 56. Greville applies the saying to the different width of the right and left hand strokes of the Y with an obvious reminiscence of the Christian contrast of the broad and the narrow ways.

191, par. 2, l. 9. indennize P: endemnize M, Grosart. Cotgrave has 'indemnize' = 'indemnify', which makes no sense here; whereas 'indenize' here has the meaning 'kidnap', 'spirit away,' or 'translate' (cp. *N.E.D.*). The allusion in the following words is to the proverbial quibble about the Delia, a trireme used for sacred embassies, traditionally dating from the time of Theseus, and constantly patched, so that, according to Plutarch, it was used as a proverb for things that were always and yet never the same. Greville uses the same image in his *Caelica* (Sonnet lxxxiv):

The ship of Greecc, the streame, and she be
not the same
They were, although ship, streame, and she still
bear their antique name.
The wood which was, is worne; the waves
are run away,
Yet still a ship, and still a streame, still
running to a sea.
She lov'd, and still she loves, but doth not
still love me;
To all except my selfe yet is, as she was wont
to be.

191, l. 4

191, l. 4 from bot. or P: and M.

l. 2 from bot. state P: stiles M, Grosart.

192, l. 4. averse M: adverse P. Grosart by mistake reads 'adverse' in his text; hence his note 'P, "adverse,"' is unintelligible. The same remark applies to par. 2, l. 3, below, where M reads 'power'.

l. 6. Taxe P: taxes M.

l. 8. or P: and M.

l. 10. M omits 'or wish her to be'.

par. 2, l. 3. M omits 'the'.

l. 8. M omits 'in', and so improves the grammar: but the negligence is quite like Greville.

l. 7 from bot. P prints 'nature; Education', making 'Education and Practice' the 'mixtures of nature' referred to. Though sense could be made of this, I have no doubt Greville meant the other; he would not fail to include Elizabeth's 'Nature' as one of the elements of her success; indeed he has just referred to it in the words 'long and happy descent', &c.

193, l. 9. M omits 'the'.

l. 15. I have inserted semicolons at 'blotting' and 'depressing' to save the sense. Another way would be to place commas at those words, and remove them after 'writing', 'raising,' and 'reall'.

l. 8 from bot. want P: lacke M.

l. 4 from bot. the raising of P: to raise M.

l. 3 from bot. Monarch P: Monarchs M. Perhaps we should read 'Monarchy'.

194, l. 4. M inserts 'all' before 'Sabbaths'.

l. 7. she M: they P.

l. 8. M inserts 'and' before 'transforme', perhaps rightly.

194, l. 10.

- 194, l. 10. fortune P : forme M, perhaps rightly.
 l. 5 from bot. irregularly M : irregularitie P.
 l. 4 from bot. climbe P : claime M, Grosart.
 195, l. 1. M writes 'wanting' first; then scratches out 'ing' and writes 'on', and finally scratches all out and writes 'wanton'.
 l. 7. any P. in a M.
 l. 14. M inserts 'like' before 'a'.
 l. 15. sweate M : sweet P.
 l. 16. M inserts 'the' before 'humble', unnoticed by Grosart.
 l. 7 from bot. 'Merchant' is here an adjective. last line. of P : in M.
 196, l. 3. the benefit of P : benefite M.
 l. 9. M omits 'and'.
 l. 11. wherein they have and P : under which they liue and doe M.
 par. 2, l. 3. slavish P : lauish M. Grosart calls 'slavish' a gross misprint : but either word is quite possible here.
 l. 5 from bot. this P : that M.
 l. 4 from bot. I follow Grosart in printing 'Time-presents' as one word, though P prints 'time presents', as the ambiguity of the latter is confusing, though the sense is necessarily clear on reflection.
 197, l. 4. M omits 'side'.
 par. 2, l. 4. P prints commas before and after 'all'.
 l. 5. M reads 'which' by mistake for 'with'.
 l. 9. M inserts 'the' before 'most'.
 l. 11. Government P : governments M.
 l. 6 from bot. equally P : equall M.
 198, l. 3. M omits 'in'.

198, l. 12.

198, l. 12. Coast P. coasts M.

l. 14. M spells 'Ordinance' here and elsewhere.

199, l. 7. M omits 'of'.

par. 2, l. 5. men, M: new P.

l. 7 from bot. *Groniland* P. Groenland M: = Greenland.

200, ll. 2 foll. This passage is corrupt. M has a considerable number of words which are not in P, but does not clear up the difficulty. M reads: 'whose experience she knew taught them how to husband and guide her *Muscovy* Company in generall Provisions, not as partner with her Merchants, but to governe instrumentall servantes and services with skill, the Master shipwrights not only in building, but restraining the Ship-keepers riot, or expence in harbour,' &c. The general sense is that Elizabeth chose distinguished naval men for her Admiralty Office, men who could properly supervise the proceedings of shipwrights, skip-pers, &c.

l. 9. martiall P: marshall M. Both intend the same verb. Cp. p. 160, l. 2 where Martiall = marshal, the substantive.

par. 2, l. 3. 'moulds' = in modern phrase 'types' of vessels.

l. 9. munition P. munitions M.

l. 10. of P for M.

201, l. 2. tackling P tackle M.

l. 3. Gunners P Gunner M. with P and M.

l. 13. M inserts 'I' before 'my'.

l. 15. M inserts 'the employments of' before 'my'.

l. 16. After 'it' M has the following sentence.

SIDNEY

T

tence.

tence: 'Besides like a provident lady who knew Place, for the ease of Crownes, must serve both to reward meritt and to encourage it with other like motiues mentioned before', in the gouernment of the Exchequer, she kept her Cinque Portes seuered from the greatnes of the Admiralty, though she knew the principal vse and end in keeping of them devided were taken away by tyme and other changes through her sister's neglect and our former vnfortunate losses in Fraunce.'

201, par. 2, l. 1. M omits 'great'.

l. 2. high P · greate M.

l. 3. Patents P · lics. Patt^{es} M.

last line. M omits 'their'.

202, par. 2, l. 4. insensible P · sencible M.

l. 3 from bot. with P: by M.

203, l. 4. part P · state M.

l. 7. M inserts 'and' before 'assisted'.

par. 3, l. 1. succession P: successe M.

l. 4. M omits 'first'.

l. 3 from bot. Inconsistency in punctuation is well illustrated by this paragraph in P, in which, though there are three co-ordinate sentences and a change of subject, there is no stronger stop than a comma.

204, l. 2. studied P · laboured M. In view of 'studied' in l. 6, it seems likely enough that Greville's first MS. had 'studied', and that he altered it to 'laboured' in a later draft. The paragraph as a whole does not run as we should expect, whether we leave the punctuation alone, or place a semicolon after 'Statutes', or place semicolons after both 'Statutes' and 'Princes'.

¹ Cp. p. 186

204, par. 2, l. 3.

204, par. 2, l. 3. M omits 'intire'.

l. 7. P omits 'a'.

l. 7 from bot. wind-blown = full of wind like a bladder or cloud, hollow and puffed up. Cp. p. 109, l. 8; p. 211, l. 3.

l. 2 from bot. waved: cp. p. 174, l. 4 from bot.

205, par. 2, l. 4. neither P: not M.

207, l. 6. the Groyne = Coruña.

l. 10. *Peniche* (spelled *Penicke* in P), on the W. coast of Portugal.

l. 12. gates of the High Towne P gates, took East Cales M, Grosart. This is a curious variant. There is no question of Cadiz here. It seems possible that the original MS. had some reference to *Cascaes*, at the mouth of the Tagus, where Drake lay cooperating with the land force which attacked Lisbon.

par. 2, l. 4. Netherlands P: Netherlanders M.

208, par. 2, l. 1. the meane P this meane M.

l. 6. Leaguers M Leagues P. 'Leaguers' or 'League' would be equally possible expressions, but hardly 'Leagues', in reference to the well-known 'League', referred to again below, l. 6 from bot.

209, l. 9. P omits 'and'.

par. 2, l. 7. M inserts 'and' before 'even', spoiling the construction.

210, l. 2. fearfull wings of this growing Monarch P. growing wings of his fearfull monarchie M. With P's reading cp. 'growing Monarchs' below, par. 2, l. 4, p. 211, l. 8.

l. 3. This must apparently mean 'made him borrow a great deal of money', but the phrase would more naturally be used of a prosperous investor.

210, par. 2, l. 9. P misprints 'Granoda'.

l. 18. wisdom so P: wisdomes too M.

211, l. 2. M inserts 'Spanish' before 'Holofernes'.

l. 7. M omits 'and', and in l. 9 'the'.

l. 11. usuall M usefull P. 'Usefull' could only be satirical, and does not seem to be in Greville's style. Leiger Embassadors=ledger-ambassadors, i.e. resident ambassadors as opposed to special envoys. The phrase is common in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

l. 14. M omits 'so', probably rightly. M also reads 'those' for 'such' in l. 15, and brackets from 'like' to 'members' as a parenthesis. For the previous comparison of the Roman Church to Bucephalus cp. p. 181 near the bottom.

l. 4 from bot. unnaturall M: naturall P, by mistake.

l. 2 from bot. her P: their M, Grosart, wrongly.

last line. beame=beam of a balance, as the succeeding words show.

212, l. 5. Meeres=boundaries. Grosart compares Bacon's Essays, no. 56 [near the beginning 'The mislaier of a Meere Stone is to blame'].

l. 6. the P: that M. procession M: precession P. The phrase 'to go procession' used to be common and is still in use locally for beating the bounds of a parish: and in view of the word 'meeres' it seems probable that Greville is using 'procession' in this sense here.

par. 2. l. 7. high P: huge M.

last line. Should not 'her' be 'him'? Though the other sovereigns might be said to be about Elizabeth as well as about Philip, the logic
of

of the sentence makes it more natural to speak of them as about Philip.

212, l. 5 from bot. The reference is to the story of Aphrodite protecting Aeneas, not with a shield, but with her robe, and being herself wounded by Diomedes: *Iliad*, v. 311 foll. Greville implies that if Elizabeth had fought Spain from under some 'Goddess' shield', the 'Goddess' might have met with the treatment received by Aphrodite; but what does the 'goddess' of the metaphor represent? Apparently nothing more than Elizabeth's good fortune, or any supernatural assistance: but then the parenthetical semi-humorous addition seems to have no substantial meaning.

l. 3 from bot. This 'gallant Factor (agent) of her Merchants' was either William Harborne (cp. note to p. 24, l. 15) or his successor Edward Barton, who was agent 1588-1597. I have not been able to trace the incident to which Greville refers.

213, l. 3. yet, and upon P. yea upon M.

l. 4. zecchins P. chickeens M. Cp. 'Duckets' on p. 209, l. 6.

par. 2, l. 9. the heathen P that heathen M.

l. 3 from bot. M omits 'both' and 'the' before 'living'.

215, l. 3. I have added a comma after 'justly'. M writes 'and justly' in brackets.

par. 2, l. 6. memories P: memory M. 'their memories' = the memories of Greville's *Antony and Cleopatra*.

par. 3, l. 2. M omits 'rather'.

l. 4 from bot. M inserts 'that' before 'no'.

l. 2 from bot. of asking P: to aske M.

216, l. 7. resolutions P revolutions M, probably rightly, though Greville might use 'resolutions'

tions' to mean 'changes'. Note, however, 'resolution' below, l. 17.

216, l. 17. in P: on M.

par. 2, l. 1. curiously M: seriously P. The general sense, and the evidently contrasted use of 'seriously' in l. 3 from bot. shows that M is right here. 'Curiously' means 'out of curiosity'.

l. 3 from bot. demur'd = dwelt upon a common use in sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

l. 2 from bot. in P: of M. Grosart by misprint interchanges, at the end of two successive lines, 'of' before 'his', with 'to' after 'superstition'.

217, l. 17. 'revive my self in her memory' of course means 'revive myself in remembering her'.

218, l. 10 from bot. my P: any M, Grosart, clearly wrongly.

219, l. 7. M inserts 'to be' after 'selfe'.

220, l. 12. M omits 'to' before 'put', probably rightly.

221, l. 4. exemplific P: amplific M, Grosart.

l. 5. Order P: orders M, Grosart.

l. 9. melancholike P: melancholy M. M inserts 'up' after 'stir'.

l. 7 from bot. M inserts 'of life' after 'practice'.

222, l. 1. errors P: errour M.

l. 6. talent. I do not know whether Greville is using 'talent', by false analogy from *ingenium*, in the sense of 'disposition', or whether we ought to emend 'intent'.

l. 7. M inserts 'the' before 'Poets'.

l. 8. P omits 'and' before 'all'.

l. 15. I have removed a comma after 'Sexe' to make the clause readily intelligible.

222, l. 11

222, l. 11 from bot. Unless 'Euripides' and 'Sophocles' have been transposed by clerical error, Greville must have been speaking of those dramatists only at second hand, and without remembering the traditional account of them. It is Euripides, of course, who has been, however inaccurately, regarded as a misogynist.

l. 4 from bot. M omits 'the', wrongly.

223, par. 2, l. 1. P omits 'though'. The reference is evidently to drawings with which Sidney embellished the margins of his *Arcadia*, which, as we all know, was widely circulated in MS.

l. 6. M inserts 'freely' before 'leave'.

l. 6 from bot. P inserts 'not' before 'too'.

224, l. 8. The black ox treading on a person's foot is given as a proverb for adversity first by J. Heywood (1562); Lyly in *Euphues* uses it along with the crow's foot about the eyes, cp. Nares' *Glossary*, or *N.E.D.* I do not know if the proverb is of English origin or not.

l. 15. thus M this P.

l. 17. those P theis M.

225, l. 8. large P. longe M.

l. 15. M omits 'the' before 'capacity'.

l. 7 from bot. I have removed a comma after 'worke', to get rid of an ambiguity of construction.